THE MINOR WRITINGS OF CHARLES DICKENS.

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THE MINOR WRITINGS OF CHARLES DICKENS

A BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SKETCH

BY
FREDERIC G. KITTON
AUTHOR OF "CHARLES DICKENS BY PEN AND PENCIL," "DICKENS AND HIS ILLUSTRATORS," ETC.

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PREFACE.

THE *present volume, following that on "The Novels of Charles Dickens," published in* 1897, *completes the bibliographical history of the various writings of the Novelist, dating from the time when his first printed paper appeared in the* Monthly Magazine, *December,* 1833, *until "that fatal day" in June,* 1870, *when his prolific pen was finally laid aside, never again to delight us by its humour or affect us to tears by its pathos.*

No such comprehensive and exact account of Dickens's literary productions has hitherto been attempted as that which (I venture to hope) is accomplished in this volume and

its predecessor. The labour involved has naturally proved exacting, for it necessitated considerable research in unfamiliar fields —an observation which more particularly applies to the present work. At least one important point has been achieved—viz., *the compilation of a complete list of Dickens's ephemeral contributions to periodical literature, notably to those journals of which he himself was editor. By reason of their anonymity, the numerous articles furnished by him to* Household Words *can only be identified by means of internal evidence, so that a most careful perusal of the entire set of nineteen volumes became imperative before it was possible to draw up a list of the papers for which "the Chief" was ostensibly responsible. The late Mr. Charles Dickens the younger, who had recently been over the same ground, endorsed the list (thus prepared) of the writings which I attributed to his father; it may, therefore, be safely assumed that*

every article here catalogued was written by Dickens, instances of collaboration being duly noted. With respect to All the Year Round *my task was simplified owing to the fact that, by great good-fortune, I discovered in the possession of Mr. W. H. Howe an "office" set of that journal, in which had been inscribed against each article, etc., the name of the author thereof —satisfactory and conclusive proof as to its origin.*

The identification of several papers not previously recognised as emanating from Dickens's pen was rendered feasible by the existence of the original MSS. in the Forster Collection at the South Kensington Museum. Among them will be found the autographs of a number of the Novelist's contributions to that defunct journal, The Examiner, *which Forster edited during the 'forties.*

When preparing this work I naturally availed myself of certain out-of-the-way

information afforded by the Dickens Bibliographies of Messrs. James Cook, R. H. Shepherd, and C. P. Johnson; while I am also much indebted to Mr. John F. Dexter's "Hints to Dickens Collectors."

FREDERIC G. KITTON.

ST. ALBANS,
March, 1900.

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THE MINOR WRITINGS OF CHARLES DICKENS.

"SKETCHES BY BOZ."

THE story of Charles Dickens's initial attempt in the art of the novelist is duly set forth in the Preface to the first Cheap Edition of "Pickwick" (1847), where the Author himself describes how his first effusion, addressed to the editor of the *Monthly Magazine*, was "dropped stealthily one evening at twilight, with fear and trembling, into a dark letter-box, in a dark office, up a dark court, in Fleet Street"; and how, when it "appeared in all the glory of print," he walked down to Westminster Hall, and turned into it for half-an-hour

because his eyes "were so dimmed with joy and pride, that they could not bear the street, and were not fit to be seen there." In "David Copperfield" we may find another obvious reference to this early experience of the Novelist, for in the forty-third chapter he observes, in the person of his hero: "I have taken with fear and trembling to authorship. I wrote a little something, in secret, and sent it to a magazine. Since then, I have taken heart to write a good many trifling pieces."

The modest contribution to which Dickens alluded as his earliest effort in fiction was called "A Dinner at Poplar Walk," but was afterwards published as "Mr. Minns and his Cousin." It is not generally known that this Sketch, in its manuscript form, was entitled "A Sunday out of Town," as indicated by a letter written in December, 1833, by the future Novelist to Mr. W. H. Kolle, an intimate friend of his youth, in which he referred to the acceptance and appearance of his first published piece of writing. In that interesting communication he begs "Mrs. K.'s criticism of a little paper of mine (the first of a series), in the Monthly (not the New Monthly *) Magazine of this

* The *Monthly Magazine* had been in existence more than a quarter of a century, and was

month ; I haven't a copy to send, but if the number falls in your way, look for the article. It is the same that you saw lying on my table, but the name is transmogrified from 'A Sunday out of Town' to 'A Dinner at Poplar Walk.'" That the budding Novelist was considerably excited by the success of his "little paper" is a fact hinted at in the same letter, where he says: "I am so dreadfully nervous that my hand shakes to such an extent as to prevent my writing a word legibly." He had evidently decided, in the event of the article being accepted, to contribute others of a similar nature—a determination that took effect in the appearance of a series of Sketches, chiefly of a humorous character. It appears that for a time they failed to attract special attention, but were generally spoken of in literary circles as clever and graphic.

In 1836 the editorship of the *Monthly Magazine* was assumed by Mr. James Grant, a well-known journalist and author, who so greatly admired Dickens's Sketches that he desired to arrange with the young writer (whose name he then

published at half-a-crown. Its success brought about the advent of the *New Monthly Magazine*, started by Colburn under the editorship of Thomas Campbell, the poet.

for the first time ascertained) for a continuance of them. Hitherto these articles had been contributed gratuitously and without introduction of any kind; but Dickens, suspecting that they were worthy of pecuniary reward, suggested a modest compensation for them, otherwise he could not enter into any fresh negotiations, as he was about to be married, and would be compelled to devote his attention to more profitable work. Mr. Grant, in his new capacity as editor, thereupon agreed to pay for them; but the sum of half-a-guinea per page, as proposed by Dickens, proved too heavy a tax on the pecuniary resources of the magazine, which was not in the flourishing condition it once had been. "Only imagine," wrote Mr. Grant, "Mr. Dickens offering to furnish me with a continuation, for any length of time which I might have named, of his 'Sketches by Boz' for eight guineas a sheet, whereas in little more than six months from that date he could—so great in the interval had his popularity become—have got a hundred guineas per sheet of sixteen pages from any of the leading periodicals of the day!"

The following nine Sketches, which are of a humorous character, appeared in the *Monthly Magazine*:—

1833.
Dec. A Dinner at Poplar Walk.
1834.
Jan. Mrs. Joseph Porter, "over the way."
Feb. Horatio Sparkins.
April. The Bloomsbury Christening.
May. The Boarding-House.
Aug. The Boarding-House. No. II.
Oct. The Steam Excursion.
1835.
Jan. Passage in the Life of Mr. Watkins Tottle. Chapter the First.
Feb. Do. Chapter the Second.

It is worthy of note that these Sketches bore no signature until August, 1834, when he adopted the pseudonym of "Boz" (his *nom de guerre* in the *Morning Chronicle*)—a very familiar household word to him, being the nickname of his youngest brother Augustus, whom he "had dubbed Moses, in honour of the Vicar of Wakefield; which, being facetiously pronounced through the nose became Boses, and, being shortened, became Boz."

As already intimated, Mr. Grant (as editor of the *Monthly Magazine*) was compelled sorrowfully to decline receiving any more of the Sketches when they ceased as voluntary offerings. Happily, before this crisis was reached, Dickens discovered a more remunerative medium for his articles. From a letter, dated "13, Furnival's Inn, Tuesday Evening, January 20th, 1835,"* written by him

* The year is incorrectly given as 1837 in "The Letters of Charles Dickens," Vol. III., 5.

to Mr. George Hogarth, his future father-in-law, who was then arranging for an evening edition of the *Morning Chronicle*, we learn that Dickens was desired to prepare an original paper for the first number of that journal; further, that he expressed his willingness to write a series of articles having an attractive title, in the style of his already-published Sketches; and, lastly, that he suggested *some* remuneration for them ("of course, of no great amount") in addition to his ordinary salary as a reporter for the *Chronicle*. This reasonable stipulation was cordially acceded to by the principal editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, John Black, the "father" of the London Press, to whom Dickens afterwards referred as his "first hearty out-and-out appreciator," and his weekly stipend was accordingly raised from five guineas to seven. On Saturday, January 31st, 1835, was issued the first number of the *Evening Chronicle*, which contained, under the heading of "Sketches of London —No. I. (For *The Evening Chronicle*)," an article on "Hackney-Coach Stands," signed "Boz." The remainder of these memorable contributions (of which there were twenty) appeared at uncertain intervals in the following order:—

1835.
Jan. 31. Hackney-Coach Stands.
Feb. 7. Gin Shops.
" 19. Early Coaches.
" 28. The Parish.
Mar. 7. "The House."
" 17. London Recreations.
Apr. 7. Public Dinners.
" 11. Bellamy's.
" 16. Greenwich Fair.
" 23. Thoughts about People.
May 9. Astley's.
May 19. Our Parish.
June 6. The River.
" 18. Our Parish.
" 30. The Pawnbroker's Shop.
July 14. Our Parish.
" 21. The Streets—Morning.
" 28. Our Parish—Mr. Bung's Narrative.
Aug. 11. Private Theatres.
" 20. Our Parish.

At the end of the last Sketch there is an intimation that the subject would be continued, but more than twelve months elapsed before Dickens again contributed to the columns of the *Chronicle*. During the interval, however, he supplied several papers to *Bell's Life in London*. The editor of this sporting journal, Vincent Dowling, is credited with being one of the first to discern Dickens's genius for descriptive writing and character-sketching, and was apparently instrumental in securing the young writer's services on behalf of that popular periodical, to which Dickens contributed twelve Sketches (signed "Tibbs"), having the general title of "Scenes and Characters." The following is a complete list:—

1835.
Sept. 27. Seven Dials.
Oct. 4. Miss Evans and "The Eagle."
Oct. 11. The Dancing Academy.
" 18. Making a Night of it.

Oct. 25. Love and Oysters.	Dec. 13. The Parlour.
Nov. 1. Some Account of an Omnibus Cad.	„ 27. Christmas Festivities.
Nov. 22. The Vocal Dress-Maker.	1836.
„ 29. The Prisoners' Van.	Jan. 3. The New Year.
	„ 17. The Streets at Night.

During 1836 Dickens furnished two articles in the same humorous vein, and bearing the signature of "Boz," to Vol. I. of "The Library of Fiction," published by Messrs. Chapman and Hall, and then edited by Charles Whitehead, an author of considerable ability. Whitehead was previously on the staff of the *Monthly Magazine*, and it was he who induced Dickens to write "The Tuggses at Ramsgate" and "A Little Talk about Spring and the Sweeps" (illustrated by Seymour and Buss respectively) for the above-mentioned work.

A new series of the "Sketches," four in number, were published in the *Morning Chronicle* and reprinted in the *Evening Chronicle*, with titles and dates as under:—

1836.

Meditations in Monmouth-Street	*M.C.*, Sept. 24th. *E.C.*, Sept. 26th.
Scotland-Yard	*M.C.*, Oct. 4th. *E.C.*, Oct. 5th.
Doctors' Commons	*M.C.*, Oct. 11th. *E.C.*, Oct. 12th.
Vauxhall Gardens by Day	*M.C.*, Oct. 26th. *E.C.*, „ „

About this time Dickens became acquainted, through Harrison Ainsworth, with the publisher John Macrone, of St. James's Square. To him the young author sold the entire copyright of the "Sketches," First and Second Series, for £100, "without any reserve whatever," as testified by the original receipt for that sum, dated January 5th, 1837. Forster states: "He had sold the copyright for a conditional payment of (I think) a hundred and fifty pounds." The exact amount had evidently been forgotten by Dickens, as, in a letter addressed to his solicitor, Mr. Thomas Mitton, in May, 1839, he wrote: "For the first edition of the first series I had, three or four days after the publication, £100. . . . I think for the first edition of the second series I had £150, but I am not certain what the previous amount may have been. . . . First and last by those books I had some £400. Macrone had some £4,000, and the copyrights were purchased back again" [by Chapman and Hall] "for £2,000." According to the Original Agreement (sold at the Wright Sale in 1899) the last-mentioned amount should be £2,250.

Early in 1836 a selection from the published articles, supplemented by eight new papers, was issued by Macrone in two

duodecimo volumes, price one guinea, with sixteen etchings by George Cruikshank, the full title being "Sketches by Boz, Illustrative of Every-Day Life and Every-Day People." Concerning his collaboration with George Cruikshank, Dickens remarks in the Preface (dated "Furnival's Inn, February, 1836") that "this is their first voyage in company, but it may not be the last." The first volume (pp. [viii.] 348) contains twenty-one articles, as follow: Our Parish * (in six chapters); Miss Evans and "The Eagle"; Shops and their Tenants †; Thoughts about People; A Visit to Newgate †; London Recreations; The Boarding-House (in two chapters); Hackney-Coach Stands; Brokers' and Marine-Store Shops †; The Bloomsbury Christening; Gin Shops; Public Dinners; Astley's; Greenwich Fair; The Prisoners' Van (two long opening paragraphs omitted from the original Sketch); A Christmas Dinner (first called "Christmas Festivities," and concluding paragraph omitted in this form). The second volume (pp. [iv.] 342) contains fourteen articles, *viz.*: Passage in the Life of Mr. Watkins Tottle (in two chapters); The Black Veil †; Shabby-Genteel People †; Horatio

* The first chapter was entitled "The Parish."
† Specially written for this edition.

Sparkins; The Pawnbroker's Shop; The Dancing Academy; Early Coaches; The River; Private Theatres; The Great Winglebury Duel*; Omnibuses*; Mrs. Joseph Porter; The Steam Excursion; Sentiment.*

So successful were the "Sketches" that a second edition was issued in the following August, followed by a third and fourth in 1837, each edition being entirely reset and printed by different firms, and no two editions being alike in type or pagination. In the Preface to the second edition the Author wrote: "If the pen that designed these little outlines should present its labours to the Public frequently hereafter; if it should produce fresh sketches, and even connected works of fiction of a higher grade, they have only themselves to blame. They have encouraged a young and unknown writer, by their patronage and approval; they have stimulated him to fresh efforts, by their liberality and praise; and if they will be guilty of such actions, they must be content to bear the consequences which naturally result from them."

The Second Series of the "Sketches" were published by Macrone in 1837, but

* Specially written for this edition.

the etched title bears the date 1836. The volume (pp. [viii.] 377)* is uniform in size and character with the two which preceded it, and contains the following twenty articles: The Streets by Morning; The Streets by Night; Making a Night of it; Criminal Courts†; Scotland-Yard; The New Year; Meditations in Monmouth-Street; Our Next-Door Neighbours†; The Hospital Patient†; Seven Dials; The Mistaken Milliner (originally entitled "The Vocal Dress-Maker"); Doctors' Commons; Misplaced Attachment of Mr. John Dounce (originally "Love and Oysters"); Vauxhall Gardens by Day; A Parliamentary Sketch, with a Few

* Mr. J. F. Dexter has favoured me with the result of a very elaborate collation made by him of the Second Series of the "Sketches," from which it appears that the work in its first state is marked by a number of typographical blunders. For example, in the List of Illustrations, the title of one of the plates, "Vauxhall Gardens by Day," is entered twice, *viz.*, as facing title and p. 216 respectively; the latter should have referred to the plate illustrating "Mr. Minns and his Cousin," which really faces p. 263. In several instances the pagination of the text is defective, blemishes which enhance the value of the edition from a "collector's" point of view, as they indicate the absolutely *first* issue of the work. Similar inaccuracies are observable in the First Complete Edition.

† Specially written for this edition.

Portraits (originally "The House" and "Bellamy's"); Mr. Minns and his Cousin (originally "A Dinner at Poplar Walk"); The Last Cab-Driver, and the First Omnibus Cad (originally "Some Account of an Omnibus Cad"); The Parlour Orator (originally "The Parlour"); The First of May (first published in "The Library of Fiction" under the title of "A Little Talk about Spring and the Sweeps"); The Drunkard's Death.* Ten etchings (in the second edition, twelve) were contributed by George Cruikshank, the price of the volume being fifteen shillings. The Preface is dated "Furnival's Inn, December 17, 1836."

The First Complete Edition of the two Series, with a Preface dated "London, May 15, 1839," was issued by Chapman and Hall in twenty monthly parts, demy octavo, at one shilling each, the first appearing in November, 1837, and the last in June, 1839. The alteration in size necessitated the re-etching by Cruikshank of the illustrations, one of the original subjects, "The Free and Easy," being cancelled, and thirteen new designs added. This edition included all the Sketches in the First and Second Series, and one additional article, *viz.*, "The

* Specially written for this edition.

Tuggses at Ramsgate," previously published in "The Library of Fiction"—the entire collection of fifty-six papers being rearranged under the headings—"Seven Sketches from Our Parish,"* "Scenes," "Characters," "Tales." The work, on completion, was issued in one volume (pp. [viii.] 526), price one guinea.

It had previously been the intention of Macrone to publish a similar edition in monthly parts, in the belief that the marked popularity achieved by "Pickwick," then being issued in serial form by Chapman and Hall, would tend to increase the sale of the "Sketches." Having purchased the copyright "without any reserve whatever," he was both legally and morally justified in doing this; but Dickens vigorously protested against such a proceeding, and, in a letter addressed to Forster on the subject, wrote: "I have a very natural and most decided objection to being supposed to presume upon the success of 'Pickwick,' and thus foist this old work upon the public in its new dress for the mere purpose of putting money in my own pocket." He also pointed out that the fact of his name being before the

* The title of the seventh Sketch is "Our Next-Door Neighbours," reprinted from the Second Series.

town, attached to three publications at the same time, must prove seriously prejudicial to his reputation; and that Macrone had never hinted his intention of publishing the "Sketches" in this manner when he obtained possession of the copyright. Negotiations were opened for the repurchase of the copyright, and Dickens hastily arranged with Chapman and Hall to acquire it, jointly with himself and Forster, at the unreasonable sum of £2,250. Macrone died shortly afterwards, when an attempt was made to hold Dickens liable, as a partner in the publication of the "Sketches," for some of his debts—a claim which, in a letter to Mr. Thomas Mitton, his solicitor (dated "May 13th, 1839"), he altogether repudiated, and absolutely refused to pay the money, for the reason that he "never was a partner, . . . never signed any agreement to be a partner, . . . never claimed or received one sixpence as a partner in the publication of that work."

The first Cheap Edition of "Sketches by Boz," with a frontispiece by George Cruikshank, was issued by Messrs. Chapman and Hall at three shillings and sixpence. It contained a new Preface, dated "London, October, 1850," in which the author stated that he had

"not felt it right either to remodel or expunge, beyond a few words and phrases here and there," although he fully realised that the "Sketches" had a good many imperfections, "often being extremely crude and ill-considered, and bearing obvious marks of haste and inexperience; particularly in that section of the present volume which is comprised under the general head of 'Tales.'"

Copies of the first edition of the First Series of "Sketches by Boz" (two volumes) are very scarce in its original dark green cloth or uncut form, the price varying from £18 to £20; those of the Second Series (one volume, pink cloth) are catalogued at from £3 to £4. Copies of the New Edition (one volume) fetched from £20 to £25 in parts, as published, and in cloth (uncut) from £5 to £7 10*s*. Odd numbers of the *Monthly Magazine* have been disposed of at £1 each by the booksellers, while an original pink wrapper (that in which each part of the "Sketches" was issued) is valued at ten shillings, as being desirable for inserting in a bound copy of the work.

Several of the characters in the "Sketches" had their prototypes in real life. A lawyer's clerk, named Potter, figures in the Sketch entitled "Making a Night of it,"

and undoubtedly it is the same individual who appears as Jones in another Sketch called "Misplaced Attachment of Mr. John Dounce," who is there referred to as a barrister's clerk, "capital company —full of anecdote!" and having, like the real Potter, a *penchant* for "the play." Mr. Percy Noakes, the hero of that humorous tale, "The Steam Excursion," was also drawn from life. Mr. W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., informs me that there is a tradition in his family that his uncle, Mr. Peter Hardy, an actuary by profession, unconsciously posed for the portrait. The originals of the Old Lady and the Half-pay Captain (in one of the sketches of "Our Parish") were near neighbours of the Dickens family during their residence at Chatham. The retired corn-chandler, Mr. Octavius Budden (in the Sketch entitled "Mr. Minns and his Cousin"), is said to have been a member of a family of that name in Chatham—a cognomen which is still familiar in the locality.

"AMERICAN NOTES."

SO early as 1839 Dickens seriously entertained the idea of journeying to the United States. It occurred to him while projecting "Master Humphrey's Clock" that it would impart a novelty and freshness to such a work if it included a series of papers written by himself, either in Ireland or America, descriptive of the places and people he saw, and introducing local traditions, etc., in the style of Washington Irving's "Alhambra."

It was not, however, until 1841 that Dickens's thoughts again reverted to his proposed visit to America; and early in the following year he and his wife left Liverpool for the States. The Novelist had already informed Chapman and Hall that he intended keeping a note-book, and publishing it at half-a-guinea, or thereabouts. In the beginning of the summer he returned to England, and soon

found himself at Broadstairs, whither he took all available memoranda to assist him in preparing his "American Notes." In July he wrote to Professor Felton from this favourite seaside resort: "I have looked over my journal, and have decided to produce my American trip in two volumes. I have written about half the first since I came home, and hope to be out in October. This is 'exclusive news,' to be communicated to any friends to whom you may like to entrust it." Two months later, when the work was nearly completed, he addressed a letter to Longfellow, in which he also stated his resolution to publish the American Visit, and added: "I have spoken very honestly and fairly; and I know that those in America for whom I care will like me better for the book. A great many people will like me infinitely the worse, and make a devil of me straightaway."

The Author desired the opinion of Forster respecting the proposed title and the following motto, which, being objected to, was omitted:

"In reply to a question from the Bench, the Solicitor for the Bank observed, that this kind of notes circulated the most extensively, in those parts of the world where they were stolen and forged.—*Old Bailey Report.*"

Dickens had also prepared a chapter, headed "Introductory, and Necessary to be Read," which was intended to lead off the "Notes," but Forster and other friends advised its suppression, because they considered that it might at the time be misunderstood in America. Dickens agreed to abandon his wish to print the portion referred to, but did this so reluctantly that Forster felt impelled "to undertake for its publication, when a more fitting time should come." A favourable occasion, as he surmised, arrived when he was preparing for press his second volume of "The Life," where it accordingly appears. This chapter, so characteristic of the writer, gives the plan of the book and the intentions of the Author, and explains that the work is simply what it claimed to be—a record of his impressions from day to day during his hasty travels in America, etc.

The "Notes" punctually appeared on October 18th, 1842, and were immediately in great demand. Writing to Professor Felton on the last day of the year, Dickens said: "The American book has been a most complete and thorough-going success. Four large editions have now been sold *and paid for*, and it has won golden opinions from all sorts of men. . . ." Lord

Jeffrey congratulated Dickens on selling 3,000 copies in one week, and in putting £1,000 into his pocket; and Forster, although preferring the freshness of first impressions in the Author's letters from the States, thoroughly endorsed Lord Jeffrey's opinion when he said: "You have been very tender to our sensitive friends beyond sea, and my whole heart goes along with every word you have written. I think that you have perfectly accomplished all that you profess or undertake to do, and that the world has never yet seen a more faithful, graphic, amusing, kind-hearted narrative." The book was not very favourably received in America; indeed, the author was abused and vilified unmercifully in nearly every American print. Emerson, however, thought that "the lesson was not quite lost, that it held bad manners up, so that churls would see the deformity"; and Longfellow, writing to the poet Sumner, spoke of the book as "jovial and good-natured, and at times very severe," adding: "You will read with delight and, for the most part, approbation." The late Mr. Charles Dickens the younger was doubtless right in his contention that the real cause of the intense anger which "American Notes" excited in certain quarters was the fact

that the Novelist was an Abolitionist, who spoke courageously against the slavery system; and in 1887, when travelling in almost every part of the United States, he found that all the anger and ill-feeling that were aroused by his father's two books ("American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit") had passed away, and that modern Americans, as a rule, look indifferently upon the whole trouble as a matter of ancient history.

"American Notes for General Circulation" was issued in two volumes, post octavo, brown cloth, at one guinea, by Chapman and Hall in 1842. *Collation:* Vol. I., pp. xvi., one unnumbered page, and pp. 308; Vol. II., pp. [vii.] 306. There is a Dedication, but no Preface, in the first issue. In the earliest copies of Vol. I. the preliminary pages, though only eight in number, are paged up to sixteen, an oversight which was remedied before the first edition was exhausted, so that impressions even of this issue will be found with the revised pagination. This curious error is explained in Forster's biography (Vol. II., pp. 13-17), where is introduced the proposed "Introductory Chapter" already alluded to, which probably had been printed before it was decided to suppress it, so that the original

pagination could not be altered without reprinting the whole. The price of a first edition of the "Notes" ranges from £2 to £2 10*s*.

Several editions were published in the original form, a fourth being advertised before the end of the year. The first Cheap Edition contained a Preface (dated "London, June 22, 1850"), with a frontispiece representing the *Britannia* steamship, drawn by C. Stanfield, R.A. Those editions of the "Notes" which were published during and after 1868 contain a Postscript, consisting of the friendly expressions of regard publicly uttered by Dickens in New York during that year, and which were reprinted in *All the Year Round* on June 6th, 1868, under the title, "A Debt of Honour."

The original MS. of "American Notes" is at South Kensington. Evidently Dickens once intended to present it to Professor Felton, for, in a letter addressed to him, dated December 31st, 1842, he says: "The book I was to have given Longfellow for you is not worth sending by itself, being only a Barnaby. But I will look up some manuscript for you (I think I have that of the 'American Notes' complete), and will try to make the parcel better worth its long conveyance."

"PICTURES FROM ITALY."

IN 1844 Dickens enjoyed a prolonged holiday in Italy, and a few months prior to his departure from England the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle* (the paper with which he was associated in his reporting days, and to which he afterwards occasionally sent a gratuitous contribution) expressed his readiness to offer him a very substantial honorarium—even as much as twenty guineas a week—for letters from Italy, for publication in that journal; "but," said the Novelist, "it wouldn't do."

This visit to Italy lasted nearly twelve months, during which period he not only wrote his second Christmas book, "The Chimes," but industriously gathered material descriptive of the scenery and various remarkable institutions, as well as noting the social aspects of the people, obviously with a view to future publica-

tion. What a contrast did this lovely land of hoary antiquity present in comparison with the garish modernity of the United States, and how different were his experiences of the two countries! In Italy everything went smoothly enough, which was greatly owing to the fact that he was fortunate in securing the services of Louis Roche, a native of Avignon, a man full of resource, and the prince of couriers, who figures as the "Brave C." in Dickens's letters, and subsequently in the "Pictures."

Most of his epistles at this time were addressed to Forster. "It is a great pleasure to me," he observed, in a letter dated April 13th, 1845, "to find that you are really pleased with these shadows in the water, and think them worth looking at. Writing at such odd places, and in such odd seasons, I have been half savage with myself, very often, for not doing better. . . . If we should determine, after we have sat in council, that the experiences they relate are to be used, we will call B.[radbury] and E.[vans] to their share and voice in the matter." Again referring to the subject on June 7th, he said: "I am in as great doubt as you about the letters I have written you with these Italian experiences. I cannot

for the life of me devise any plan of using them to my own satisfaction, and yet think entirely with you that in some form I ought to use them."

In the autumn of the same year Dickens seriously entertained the thought of launching a new morning paper, to be called *The Daily News*, himself officiating as editor-in-chief. The initial number of that flourishing journal appeared on January 21st, 1846, and on the sixth page appeared the first instalment of the series of seven letters penned during his stay in Italy, and here printed under the general title of "Travelling Sketches—Written on the Road," these being succeeded by others at irregular intervals. The "Sketches" constituted a marked innovation in journalism, and, as such, was doubtless regarded in many quarters as an experiment of doubtful propriety. Dickens's connection with *The Daily News* was brief, being only of six weeks' duration; for the work proved distinctly uncongenial, and he soon grew tired of it. Shortly after he relinquished his editorial responsibilities, the "Travelling Sketches" were reprinted in book form as "Pictures from Italy," with five additional chapters, only two out of the twelve papers retaining their original titles. The

little foolscap octavo volume was published for the Author by Messrs. Bradbury and Evans, with vignette illustrations on wood by Samuel Palmer; the binding was a dark blue cloth, and the price 6*s*. *Collation:* One unnumbered page of Contents, and pp. 270; no Dedication or Preface. Owing to some defect in the paper, this book is nearly always found with the edges discoloured. It passed through two editions, the first issue being usually valued at from 15*s*. to £1. The first Cheap Edition appeared in 1865 in conjunction with "Hard Times." Portions of the original MS. of the "Travelling Letters" are included in the Forster Collection at South Kensington.

"HARD TIMES."

ON April 1st, 1854, this story was begun in *Household Words*, and continued as a serial until its completion. Dickens submitted to Forster the following alternative titles, with a view to obtaining his opinion as to the most suitable. "It seems to me," he wrote, "that there are three very good ones among them. I should like to know whether you hit upon the same."

1. According to Cocker.
2. Prove It.
3. Stubborn Things.
4. Mr. Gradgrind's Facts.
5. The Grindstone.
6. Hard Times.
7. Two and Two are Four.
8. Something Tangible.
9. Our Hard-headed Friend.
10. Rust and Dust.
11. Simple Arithmetic.
12. A Matter of Calculation.
13. A Mere Question of Figures.
14. The Gradgrind Philosophy.

The three titles selected by Forster were Nos. 2, 6, and 11; the three preferred by

Dickens were Nos. 6, 13, and 14; and as No. 6 had been favoured by both, that title was determined upon. Other designations were also considered, such as: Fact; Hard-headed Gradgrind; Hard Heads and Soft Hearts; Heads and Tales; Black and White; but these were speedily discarded as being inappropriate.

When engaged upon the tale, Dickens was again harassed by anxiety occasioned through publishing by instalments; the weekly portion, however, proved less trying than the usual monthly one, for its comparative brevity made it easier for him to come up to time, although he found it more perplexing to get sufficient interest every week within the limited space at his disposal. "The difficulty of the space," he remarked to Forster, after a few weeks' trial, "is CRUSHING. Nobody can have an idea of it who has not had an experience of patient fiction-writing with some elbow-room always, and open places in perspective. In this form, with any kind of regard to the current number, there is absolutely no such thing." The final chapter was written at Boulogne in July, 1854, and in a note to Forster (written just before the close of the tale) the Author said: "I am three parts mad, and the fourth delirious, with perpetual

rushing at 'Hard Times.' I have done what I hope is a good thing with Stephen,* taking his story as a whole; and hope to be over in town with the end of the book on Wednesday night. . . . I have been looking forward through so many weeks and sides of paper to this Stephen business, that now—as usual—it being over, I feel as if nothing in the world, in the way of intense and violent rushing hither and thither, could quite restore my balance." Concerning his motive in writing "Hard Times," a story based on "philosophical radicalism," Dickens observed, in a letter to Charles Knight: "My satire is against those who see figures and averages, and nothing else—the representatives of the wickedest and most enormous vice of this time—the men who, through long years to come, will do more to damage the really useful truths of political economy than I could do (if I tried) in my whole life. . . ."

This story more than doubled the

* Stephen Blackpool, the power-loom weaver in Mr. Bounderby's factory. His favourite expression, "It's aw a muddle," strikes the key-note of this "socialistic" romance. Mrs. Oliphant considered the episode of Stephen and Rachel "one of the best pieces of serious writing Dickens ever did."

circulation of *Household Words*; and among those who were most emphatic in praising the book was Professor Ruskin, who thus expressed himself concerning it:—

"Allowing for his manner of telling them, the things he tells us are always true. I wish that he could think it right to limit his brilliant exaggeration to works written only for public amusement; and when he takes up a subject of high national importance, such as that which he handled in 'Hard Times,' that he would use severer and more accurate analysis. . . . He is entirely right in his main drift and purpose in every book he has written; and all of them, but especially 'Hard Times,' should be studied with close and earnest care by persons interested in social questions. They will find much that is partial, and, because partial, apparently unjust; but if they examine all the evidence on the other side, which Dickens seems to overlook, it will appear, after all their trouble, that his view was the finally right one, grossly and sharply told."*

N. B.

Dickens, when writing "Hard Times," was anxious to verify the principal details of a strike in a manufacturing town, and travelled to Preston with that intention. He was somewhat disappointed, however, for he wrote to Forster: "I am afraid I shall not be able to get much here. Except the crowds at the street-corners reading the placards *pro* and *con*;

* "Unto this Last" by John Ruskin, 1862.

and the cold absence of smoke from the mill-chimneys; there is very little in the streets to make the town remarkable. I am told that the people 'sit at home and mope.' The delegates with the money from the neighbouring places come in to-day to report the amounts they bring; and to-morrow the people are paid. When I have seen both these ceremonies, I shall return. . . ." It is interesting to know that Coketown, where the principal incidents take place, was intended as a representation of Manchester.

"Hard Times. For These Times," after its appearance at weekly intervals in *Household Words* between the dates of April 1st and August 12th, 1854, was immediately published in volume form, post octavo, cloth, at 5*s.*, by Bradbury and Evans. The story is divided into Three Books, contains no Preface, and was Inscribed to Thomas Carlyle. *Collation:* pp. [viii.] 352. A copy of the first issue is usually priced at from £1 5*s.* to £1 15*s.* "Hard Times" was included in the first Cheap Edition (Third Series), 1865, with "Pictures from Italy," and has a frontispiece by A. B. Houghton. The original MS., the first written in the Novelist's favourite blue ink, is included in the Forster Collection at South Kensington.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS.

I.

"A Christmas Carol" (1843).

IT was during such odd moments of leisure as were left to the Novelist out of the time taken up by two numbers of "Martin Chuzzlewit" that the theme of the "Carol" first occurred to Dickens, and the writing of the touching little story effected. He described to Sir E. Bulwer Lytton with what a strange mastery the subject seized him, and how, for many weeks, he was so closely occupied with his "little Carol" (as he affectionately termed it) that he "never left home before the owls went out, and led quite a solitary life." In a letter (dated "January 2nd, 1844") to Professor Felton, he said that he wept over it, "and laughed and wept again, and excited himself in a most extraordinary manner in the composition; and thinking whereof he walked about

the black streets of London, fifteen and twenty miles many a night when all the sober folks had gone to bed." And when it was done he "broke out like a madman!"

The "Christmas Carol" was written at 1, Devonshire Terrace, York Gate, Regent's Park, the Author's residence from 1840 to 1851. Never had such a book so brilliant an outset; its popularity was extraordinary, and by every post he received letters from complete strangers, telling him about their homes and hearths, and how this same "Carol" was read aloud there, and kept on a little shelf by itself. "Indeed," wrote Dickens, "it is the greatest success, as I am told, that this ruffian and rascal has ever achieved." Thackeray's opinion as to the merits of the little book is one of the most delightful and genial criticisms ever penned; Lord Jeffrey, too, was enthusiastic in his praise, and, in a letter to the Novelist, said: "You should be happy yourself, for you may be sure you have done more good by this little publication, fostered more kindly feelings, and prompted more positive acts of beneficence than can be traced to all the pulpits and confessionals in Christendom since Christmas, 1842." Fully appre-

ciating the kindly criticisms which greeted him on all sides, Dickens declared to his friend Mr. Thomas Mitton: "I knew I meant a good thing, and when I see the effect of such a little *whole* as that, on those for whom I care, I have a strong sense of the immense effect I could produce with an entire book. . . . I am sure it will do me a great deal of good; and I hope it will sell well."

The Author's desires were amply realised, for the first edition of six thousand copies was disposed of the first day, and a few days later no less than two thousand of the three printed for second and third editions had been secured by the trade. The proceeds of the sale, however, proved sadly disappointing, Dickens having set his "heart and soul upon a Thousand clear," instead of which only £726 were received by him from a sale of fifteen thousand copies,—the deficiency having originated (says Forster) in "a want of judgment in adjusting the expenses of production with a more equable regard to the selling price." This disappointment, so closely following a soreness which had just arisen in regard to a clause in the "Chuzzlewit" agreement, resulted in a temporary severance of the Author's connection with Chapman and Hall.

The full title reads thus: "A Christmas Carol, in Prose: Being a Ghost Story of Christmas." It contains eight illustrations by John Leech, *viz.*, four full-page etchings and four woodcuts, and was published by Chapman and Hall in 1843 at the price of 5*s.* *Collation:* two unnumbered pages, Preface, and Contents, and pp. 166. The size is foolscap octavo, and the original binding was in brown cloth (afterwards changed to crimson), having a gilt design on cover and back. The title-page is printed in red and blue; it appears, however, that a few copies are extant which have the title-page in red and *green*, and it is conjectured that, although dated 1844, these may possibly have been struck off at the same time as the others to enable the Author to determine which was preferable, in which case they may also be considered as first issues.* The second edition was bound in dull red cloth, having the same gilt designs; on the title-page of some of the later impressions appears the imprint of Bradbury and Evans, owing to a subsequent change of publishers.

The first Cheap Edition (issued in 1852 by Messrs. Chapman and Hall, in one

* There exist a few copies of an 1844 edition with the title-page printed in red and blue.

volume with the later Christmas books) had a new Preface, and a woodcut frontispiece by Leech, reproduced from one of his own etchings.

A copy of the genuine first (or brown cloth) edition is catalogued at from £4 to £6; it should have on the first page "Stave I," afterwards altered to "Stave One," to match the headings of later chapters; the colour of the end-papers should be green.

Upon the publication of the "Carol," Dickens presented the manuscript to Mr. Thomas Mitton, his old schoolfellow and afterwards his solicitor. In 1875 it was sold to a London bookseller for £50, and has since become the property of Mr. Stuart M. Samuel.

II.

"The Chimes" (1845).

The second Christmas book was written during a visit to Italy in 1844, when Dickens and his family were staying at the old Palazzo Peschiere, Genoa, in the autumn of that year. Although surrounded by glorious scenery, the environment counted for little indeed when the Novelist

first set himself seriously to work, for it seemed (he said) as if he had plucked himself out of his proper soil when he left Devonshire Terrace, and could take root no more until he returned to it. Even after deciding upon the subject for this Christmas story he was unable to find a title until an idea for it occurred to him one morning when, resolute, but not in the humour for work, a maddening peal of chimes arose from the city beneath him—such a clashing of bells that made his ideas "spin round and round till they lost themselves in a whirl of vexation and giddiness, and dropped down dead." Two days later Forster received a letter containing merely the phrase, "We have heard THE CHIMES at midnight, Master Shallow!" this implying that a suitable designation for the little book had been definitely agreed upon.

Dickens's craving for the London streets, whence he derived so much inspiration, presently became more confirmed, and he sadly missed his long night-walks in and about the metropolis. Nevertheless, he determined to begin, his notion for the new book being an endeavour to make a great blow for the poor. "Something powerful, I think I can do," he wrote, on October 8th, "but I want to be tender

too, and cheerful; as like the 'Carol' in that respect as may be, and as unlike it as such a thing can be. The duration of the action will resemble it a little, but I trust to the novelty of the machinery to carry that off; and if my design be anything at all, it has a grip upon the very throat of the time." Dickens's object was to convert Society, as he had converted Scrooge in the "Carol," by showing "that its happiness rested on the same foundations as those of the individual; which are mercy and charity not less than justice." The hero of his imagination was to be a seedy London ticket-porter, who, in his anxiety not to distrust or think hardly of the rich, has fallen into the opposite extreme of distrusting the poor, from which distrust he was to be reclaimed.

Forster frequently received letters from Dickens while the writing of the story was proceeding, and in one of these he remarked that, with his "steam very much up," he found it a great trial to have no one to whom he could expatiate upon his day's work. "And I want," he added, "a crowded street to plunge into at night. And I want to be 'on the spot' as it were." Apart from these disadvantages, he found his then mode of life favourable to progress, for in the next letter he said:

"I am in regular, ferocious excitement with the 'Chimes'; get up at seven; have a cold bath before breakfast; and blaze away, wrathful and red-hot, until three o'clock or so; when I usually knock off (unless it rains) for the day. . . . I am fierce to finish in a spirit bearing some affinity to those of truth and mercy, and to shame the cruel and the canting. I have not forgotten my catechism. 'Yes verily; and with God's help, so I will.'"

Within a week the Novelist completed the first part (or "Quarter") of "The Chimes," and sent it to Forster with an intimation that he hoped to despatch an instalment "every Monday until the whole is done." Referring to the story, he observed: "It has a great hold upon me, and has affected me, in the doing, in divers strong ways, deeply, forcibly." At the same time he gave Forster a general idea of the plot, this constituting a good illustration of his method in all his writing. When, after another week had elapsed, the Novelist despatched the second part (or "Quarter"), he announced his intention of enlarging his plan, and intimated the assurance that he was "still in stout heart with the tale." "I think it well-timed," he continued, "and a good thought; and as you know I wouldn't

say so to anybody else, I don't mind saying freely thus much. It has great possession of me every moment in the day; and drags me where it will. . . . I hope you will like it. . . ." Another interval of a few days brought the third portion, the preparation of which had cost him so much. The earnestness and excitable energy with which he carried on the work wrought havoc with him, and writing to his biographer he observed: "This book (whether in the Hajji Baba sense or not I can't say, but certainly in the literal one) has made my face white in a foreign land. My cheeks, which were beginning to fill out, have sunk again; my eyes have grown immensely large; my hair is very lank; and the head inside the hair is hot and giddy. Read the scene at the end of the third part, twice. I wouldn't write it twice, for something. . . ." After notifying that he had changed the name of the heroine from Jessie to Lilian, he proceeds: "To-morrow I shall begin afresh (starting the next part with a broad grin, and ending it with the very soul of jollity and happiness); and I hope to finish by next Monday at the latest. . . . Since I conceived, at the beginning of the second part, what must happen in the third, I

have undergone as much sorrow and agitation as if the thing were real; and have wakened up with it at night. I was obliged to lock myself in when I finished it yesterday, for my face was swollen for the time to twice its proper size, and was hugely ridiculous. . . . I am going for a long walk, to clear my head. I feel that I am very shaky from work, and throw down my pen for the day." His next communication stated that the tale was at last completed. "Third of November, 1844. Half-past two, afternoon. Thank God! I have finished the 'Chimes.' This moment. I take up my pen again to-day, to say only that much; and to add that I have had what women call 'a real good cry!'" Thus we discover how earnest he was, how great the mental tension which caused the highly strung nerves to relax when his labours were concluded! When writing to Lady Blessington at this time, he said: "I shut myself up for a month close and tight, over my little Christmas book, 'The Chimes.' All my affections and passions got twined and knotted up in it, and I became as haggard as a murderer, long before I wrote 'The End.'" To Mr. Thomas Mitton he expressed the belief that he had, in this

story, "written a tremendous book, and knocked the 'Carol' out of the field. It will make a great uproar, I have no doubt."

Dickens was now eager to try its effect upon his friends, and upon Carlyle particularly; so a meeting was arranged for December 3rd * at Forster's residence. The private reading was notable in being the forerunner of those Public Readings with which the Novelist subsequently delighted innumerable audiences both at home and abroad.

Before this interesting incident occurred, Forster read the story (for dramatic purposes) to Gilbert A'Beckett, who, as Dickens informed his wife, "cried so much and so painfully that Forster didn't know whether to go on or stop; and he called next day to say that any expression of his feeling was beyond his power." In a postscript to this letter he added: "If you had seen Macready last night, undisguisedly sobbing and crying on the sofa as I read, you would have felt, as I did, what a thing it is to have power."

Writing to Douglas Jerrold, the Novelist pointed out that in this little book he had "tried to strike a blow upon that part of the brass countenance of wicked

* Not December 2nd, as stated by Forster.

Cant, when such a compliment is sorely needed at this time, and I trust that the result of my training is at least the exhibition of a strong desire to make it a staggerer. If *you* should think at the end of the four rounds (there are no more) that the said Cant, in the language of *Bell's Life*, 'comes up piping,' I shall be very much the better for it."

"The Chimes," when published, hardly created the excitement which the author anticipated; nevertheless, the profits greatly exceeded those of the "Carol," for they amounted to nearly £1,500 on the sale of the first twenty-thousand copies. Lord Jeffrey, who believed that Dickens had succeeded in his object, and that therefore "all the tribe of selfishness, and cowardice, and cant" would hate him and accuse him of wicked exaggeration, after expressing his sincere admiration of the story, declared that the good and the brave were with its Author, and the truth also.

It was distinctly a story "with a purpose." Here the Novelist introduces Sir Peter Laurie, a well-known Alderman of the City of London, who had been making himself conspicuous by his determination to "put down" everything, including suicide, and the remarks of

Alderman Cute (for whose portrait Sir Peter unconsciously posed) were nearly a transcript of those to which the garrulous old city magistrate gave utterance from the bench. The irate alderman did not forget the attack, and retaliated soon afterwards by publicly ridiculing Dickens's description of Jacob's Island and the Folly Ditch in "Oliver Twist"; whereupon the Novelist, in the Preface to the first Cheap Edition of that story, jocularly alluded to the incident, and treated his judicial critic as one whose observations on this subject were unworthy of serious consideration.

"The Chimes: a Goblin Story of some Bells that rang an Old Year out and a New Year in," was issued at 5*s.* by Chapman and Hall at Christmas time, 1844; the printed date, however, is 1845 It contains a frontispiece and title engraved on steel from designs by Maclise, and eleven woodcuts by Maclise, Doyle, Leech, and Stanfield. *Collation:* One unnumbered page of Illustrations, and pp. 175. There is no Preface or Dedication.* The little foolscap octavo volume was bound in crimson cloth, with a design

* Forster incorrectly states that "The Chimes" was dedicated to Lord Jeffrey. He confuses it with "The Cricket on the Hearth," which was so dedicated.

in gold on side and back. The present value of a copy of the very scarce first edition is £2. This issue has the publishers' names engraved *on* the plate of title-page; copies of later editions, where the imprint appears *below* the plate, are valued at from 15*s.* to £1.

Mr. J. F. Dexter possesses a most interesting impression of "The Chimes," in which many of the woodcuts had not been printed in the spaces left for them. On examination it was found that the lower part of the woodcut on p. 125 differed from that in the published book, for Leech misunderstood his author, and instead of drawing Richard "with matted hair," he depicted a figure entirely different from what Dickens intended. As the mistake was promptly discovered and rectified, it may be assumed that Mr. Dexter's copy of the book, in respect of this illustration, is unique.

The original MS. of "The Chimes" is at South Kensington.

III.

"The Cricket on the Hearth" (1846).

In 1845 Dickens revived a long-cherished idea of establishing a weekly

periodical, the proposed features of which he then briefly summarised. The title was to be "The Cricket," with the motto, "A cheerful creature that chirrups on the Hearth. *Natural History*"; and the new venture was intended to "put everybody in a good temper, and make such a dash at people's fenders and arm-chairs as hasn't been made for many a long day." The Novelist consulted Forster as to the merits of his scheme, who thought there was much to approve in it; but the project was temporarily abandoned* in favour of a far more serious adventure, in which Dickens and many of his friends were involved, *viz.*, the founding of the *Daily News*, which presently monopolised much valuable time and attention.

In the notion respecting the proposed weekly publication we discover the germ of the third Christmas story. "It would be a delicate and beautiful fancy for a Christmas book," thought the Novelist, "making the Cricket a little household god—silent in the wrong and sorrow of the tale, and loud again when all went well and happy." In comparison with "The Chimes," there is very little to chronicle

* It was renewed a few years later, and realised in the publication of *Household Words*.

à propos of this small volume. The story was not commenced until late in 1845, and the writing of it did not run so smoothly and uninterruptedly as could have been desired. In October the Author announced that he was at a deadlock: "Sick, bothered, and depressed. Visions of Brighton come upon me; and I have a great mind to go there to finish my second part, or to Hampstead. I have a desperate thought of Jack Straw's. I never was in such a bad writing cue as I am this week, in all my life." This condition was doubtless brought about by the worry and anxiety attendant upon the preparations for the new daily paper, at which he was then actively assisting.

"The Cricket on the Hearth. A Fairy Tale of Home," when completed, was "printed and published for the Author" (under a special agreement) by Bradbury and Evans, in December, 1845, although the date on the title-page is 1846; so great was the demand for the work that the sale doubled that of both its predecessors. It contained a Dedication to Lord Jeffrey, and was illustrated with fourteen woodcuts by Doyle, Stanfield, Leech, Landseer, and Maclise, the latter designing the frontispiece and title-page. *Collation:* Two unnumbered pages of

Dedication and Illustrations, and pp. 174. The volume is a foolscap octavo, bound in crimson cloth, with gold designs on side and back, and its price was 5*s*. A clean and perfect copy of the first edition is usually catalogued at 15*s*.

The original MS. of "The Cricket on the Hearth" is in the possession of the Novelist's sister-in-law, Miss Hogarth.

IV.

"The Battle of Life" (1846).

Dickens decided to begin his next Christmas tale early in the year. On March 2nd, 1846, he wrote to Lady Blessington: "Vague thoughts of a new book are rife within me just now: and I go wandering about at night into the strangest places, according to my usual propensity at such a time, seeking rest, and finding none." In June he observed to Forster, writing from Rosemont, near Lausanne: "An odd, shadowy, undefined idea is at work within me, that I could connect a great battlefield somehow with my little Christmas story. Shapeless visions of the repose and peace pervading it in after-time; with the corn and grass growing over the slain, and people singing

at the plough; are so perpetually floating before me, that I cannot but think there may turn out to be something good in them when I see them more plainly."

"What do you think, as a name for the Christmas book, of 'The Battle of Life'?" again wrote Dickens to Forster at a rather later date. "It is not a name I have conned at all, but has just occurred to me in connection with that foggy idea. If I can see my way, I think I will take it next, and clear it off. If you knew how it hangs about me, I am sure you would say so too. It would be an immense relief to have it done, and nothing standing in the way of 'Dombey.'" The suggested title for the next Christmas venture, although finally decided upon, was not yet definitely fixed, for in a subsequent letter the Novelist expressed a doubt "whether the book should be called 'The Battle of Life. A Love Story'—to express both a love story in the common acceptation of the phrase, and also a story of love."

Dickens was then engaged upon "Dombey and Son," and when he intimated his intention of writing another little annual at the same time, Forster warned him against possible trouble and vexation that might arise in attempting

to deal with both stories simultaneously. The Novelist, who made light of the grave admonition at first, soon realised the difficulty of getting each narrative into its place, and this, coupled with a "craving for streets" which he could not satisfy in the little Swiss town, caused him at times to seriously contemplate the total relinquishment of the Christmas book for that year, in order that he might concentrate his entire attention upon the more important story. On September 20th, when in a sanguine mood, he wrote:

"I cancelled the beginning of a first scene—which I have never done before—and, with a notion in my head, ran wildly about and about it, and could not get the idea into any natural socket. At length, thank Heaven, I nailed it all at once; and after going on comfortably up to yesterday from half-past nine to six, I was last night in such a state of enthusiasm about it that I think I was an inch or two taller. I am a little cooler to-day, with a headache to boot; but I really begin to hope you will think it a pretty story, with some delicate notions in it agreeably presented, and with a good human Christmas ground-work. I fancy I see a great domestic effect in the last part."

A few days later the Novelist became rather despondent, and expressed to Forster "a most startling piece of intelligence"—*viz.*, that he feared there would be no Christmas book that year, although he had written nearly a third of it. "It promises to be pretty," he said; "quite a new idea in the story, I hope; but to manage it without the supernatural agency now impossible of introduction, and yet to move it naturally within the required space, . . . I find to be a difficulty so perplexing—the past 'Dombey' work taken into account—that I am fearful of wearing myself out if I go on, and not being able to come back with the necessary freshness and spirit." The theme of the tale and the purport of each character in it were quite clear in his mind, but the prospect of being jaded by overwork greatly terrified him, and made him "sick, giddy, and capriciously despondent." Nevertheless, he determined to go to Geneva, in the hope that a change of scene would enable him to make one effort more, for he was greatly averse to abandoning the story, of which "fourteen or fifteen close MS. pages, that have made me laugh and cry," were already reposing on his desk. On arriving at Geneva he became really ill, but soon

recovered, and was again at work upon the little tale, although even then he found it difficult to make up his mind what he *could* do with it. In a letter dated October 3rd he seemed more hopeful, notwithstanding certain disquietudes of authorship and physical suffering; for he wrote: "I hope and trust, *now*, the Christmas book will come in due course!!!" In fact, he meant to make a great effort to finish it on the 20th of that month, which, indeed, he effected, and the concluding chapters were punctually sent to Forster for his opinion and suggestions, together with a note referring to certain portions of the tale, and containing the remark: "I really do not know what this story is worth. I am so floored: wanting sleep, and never having had my head free from it for this month past." The Christmas work off his mind, it was a relief to get back to "Dombey"; but his head still troubled him, while for a week he dreamed "that the 'Battle of Life' was a series of chambers impossible to be got to rights or got out of, through which" (he added) "I wandered drearily at night. On Saturday night I don't think I slept an hour. I was perpetually roaming through the story, and endeavouring to dovetail the revolu-

tion* here into the plot. The mental distress, quite horrible."

The book was published on December 19th, 1846, and on that day Dickens joyfully informed his wife that twenty-three thousand copies had already been sold! Five weeks later he announced that it had "shot far ahead of its predecessors"; but there is no doubt that this, one of the least interesting of the series of Christmas Books, did not meet with so much public approbation as was accorded to its predecessors.

Dickens, it appears, was thoroughly wretched at having to use for so short a story the idea upon which "The Battle of Life" was based. "I did not see its full capacity," he wrote to Bulwer Lytton, "until it was too late to think of another subject, and I have always felt that I might have done a great deal better if I had taken it for the ground-work of a more extended book. But for an insuperable aversion I have to trying back in such a case, I should certainly forge that bit of metal again, as you suggest—one of these days perhaps."

"The Battle of Life. A Love Story,"

* A reference to the then recently proposed expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland.

was published by Bradbury and Evans in 1846, and contained thirteen woodcut illustrations by Maclise, Doyle, Leech, and Stanfield. *Collation:* Two unnumbered pages of Dedication and Illustrations, and pp. 175. It was issued at 5*s*., uniform in size and general appearance with its predecessors, the gilt designs on side and back being designed by Maclise. The little book was "cordially inscribed" to the Author's English friends in Switzerland—a dedication which he declared was "printed in illuminated capitals" on his heart. There was only one edition of the work, of which three issues were circulated; of the first very few must have been sold, as it is met with only once in about a hundred copies. The various issues can be distinguished by the slight differences in the illustrated title; the first has "A Love Story" in a simple scroll, and underneath are the publishers' names and address, with date; the second (which is the scarcest) has "A Love Story" in a scroll borne by a cherub, and below it appears the publishers' imprint without the date; while in the third the imprint is omitted altogether.

The value of a copy of the first and second issues is £2; of the third, 10*s*.

The original MS. consists of fifty quarto pages, crowded with corrections, and every leaf was mounted by Dickens himself. *À propos* of this interesting autograph, it is recorded that when a lady (an intimate friend) showed him with great pride a manuscript which she had preserved of some play written by him when very young, the Novelist, fearing the possibility of its appearing in print as one of his "early writings," made a bargain with her by offering in exchange the manuscript of "The Battle of Life" (just then completed); this being effected, he had the satisfaction of putting the boyish production into the fire. In 1884 the MS. of "The Battle of Life" was catalogued by a London bookseller at £160; it realised £400 at the sale of the Wright Collection (Sotheby's, 1899).

V.

"The Haunted Man" (1848).

In the autumn of 1846, during his stay at Lausanne, Dickens informed Forster that he had been "dimly conceiving a very ghostly and wild idea," which he supposed he ought to reserve for his next Christmas Book. "It will mature," he

said, "in the streets of Paris by night, as well as in London," and the notion he had in his mind ultimately took the form of the story entitled "The Haunted Man." The opening pages were written at Broadstairs during the following autumn, and these he sent to Forster, intimating that he must finish the book in less than a month if it was to be done at all, "Dombey" having now become very importunate. In fact, that novel so engrossed his attention towards its completion that he began to have serious doubts whether it would be advisable to go on with the Christmas tale. "Would there be any distinctly bad effect," he enquired, "in holding this idea over for another twelvemonth? saying nothing whatever until November; and then announcing in the *Dombey* that its occupation of my entire time prevents the continuance of the Christmas series until next year, when it is proposed to be renewed. There might not be anything in that but a possibility of an extra lift for the little book when it did come—eh?" On the other hand, he felt that it would be regrettable not only to lose the proceeds of the sale, but to leave any gap at Christmas firesides which he ought to fill. Nevertheless, it was decided to

postpone the story as suggested, and in the letter that closed his holiday at that favourite watering-place he wrote to Forster: "At last I am a mentally matooring of the Christmas book—or, as poor Macrone used to write, 'booke,' 'boke,' 'buke,' etc." In the winter of 1848 the little story was completed, giving the author very little trouble in its composition. On January 3rd there was a "christening" dinner at Devonshire Terrace in honour of the occasion, at which many of the Novelist's intimate friends were present.

The full title of the story is "The Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain. A Fancy for Christmas time." It was published by Bradbury and Evans in December, 1848, at 5*s.*, and in the customary form—foolscap octavo, crimson cloth, with gold decoration (holly and mistletoe) on side and back. The frontispiece and pictorial title-page were designed by Sir John Tenniel, who co-operated with Stanfield, F. Stone, and Leech in preparing the remaining fourteen woodcut illustrations. *Collation:* One unnumbered page of Illustrations, and pp. 188. The work contains no Dedication or Preface.

Many thousands of the first issue of "The Haunted Man" must have been

printed, as they were not all disposed of even a year before the Author's death, notwithstanding the fact that the sale began with a subscription of twenty thousand. It is, therefore, by no means a scarce book, and the present value does not exceed ten or twelve shillings. Although considered as the least interesting of the Christmas stories, the public received "The Haunted Man" with almost as much favour as its predecessors. It was the last of the Christmas books, their place being to a certain extent taken by the Yule-tide numbers of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, in the production of which many well-known writers enjoyed the privilege of collaboration.

The original MS. of "The Haunted Man" has mysteriously disappeared, and it is feared that it may possibly have been destroyed. Members of the Dickens family were under the impression that it remained with other MSS. in Forster's possession, and were therefore much surprised when, at his death, this particular autograph was not forthcoming.

* * * *

Three of the Christmas books, *viz.*, "The Chimes," "The Battle of Life," and "The Haunted Man," are occasionally to be met with in an uncut state in yellow

boards, these being "remainder" copies purchased by W. H. Smith and Sons for sale at the railway-stations at one shilling each, but now worth much more. The stories were separately published in 1885 by Routledge and Sons, bound in crimson cloth, in imitation of the first issues, with all the original designs, the plates in the "Carol," however, being uncoloured. All the Christmas books ran through many editions in their original form, and have also been published as a series in one volume. They were thus included in the first Cheap Edition of Dickens's works, 1852 (Chapman and Hall), with a frontispiece by Leech, copied from one of his designs in the first edition, and containing a new Preface. In 1869 they appeared as a Collected Edition in one volume (demy octavo, same publishers, pp. 465), with most of the original illustrations, and subsequently re-issued in this form, without date, to range with the "green leaf" series. In 1878 the five works were given in the Household Edition, with twenty-six woodcut illustrations by E. G. Dalziel. Mention should also be made of an excellent series of reprints by Messrs. Pears, published during the years 1892-95, profusely illustrated with drawings specially designed by the late Charles Green, R.I.

MISCELLANEOUS PROSE WRITINGS.

THE first of the little *brochures* produced by Dickens during the "Pickwick" era, entitled,

"SUNDAY UNDER THREE HEADS;

"*As it is: As Sabbath Bills would make it: As it might be made*" (1836),

was originally announced in Part III. of "The Library of Fiction" (Chapman and Hall, 1836). It constituted a strong plea for the poor, being written with direct reference to a Bill "for the better observance of the Sabbath," which the House of Commons had then recently thrown out by a small majority. Sir Andrew Agnew, M.P., brought about an agitation advocating the enforcement of more rigid laws respecting Sunday observance, and Charles Dickens strongly resented these

proposals on the ground that the execution of fresh laws would press far more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich, and earnestly pleaded for the encouragement of Sabbath excursions and harmless Sunday amusements, in order to counteract the tendency towards certain forms of dissipation which then usually characterised the habits of plebeian Londoners on the Lord's Day. Although he did not approve of a Parisian Sunday, yet he saw no moral objection to a game of cricket after church, or the playing of bands in the open air, accompanied by innocent and decorous dancing. Dickens was doubtless somewhat premature in entertaining these broad views and in suggesting their adoption, as the time was hardly ripe for their general acceptance; but public opinion has changed considerably during the last two decades, and to-day we can boast of a National Sunday League, whose object is to promote a more intelligent observance of the Sabbath than that advocated by Sir Andrew Agnew and his party. A few years ago the League issued a pamphlet containing several quotations from "Sunday Under Three Heads," in order to strengthen the arguments in favour of the opening of public museums, art galleries, and libraries on the Sabbath.

This booklet was written pseudonymously, Dickens adopting the *nom de guerre* of "Timothy Sparks." It was published at 2*s.* by Chapman and Hall in 1836 (pp. [v.] 49), with three full-page wood-engravings drawn by Hablot K. Browne, who also designed three typical heads for the title-page, which were reprinted on the wrapper. The work is prefaced by a Dedication "To the Right Reverend the Bishop of London."

Owing to its great scarcity, copies of the first edition are valued at from £7 to £8, entirely uncut copies occasionally realising in the auction-room as much as £15, as only a very few were issued in this state, the majority of copies having scraped edges. At one time this rare pamphlet could be acquired for a few pence, the explanation being that years ago a bookseller named Chidley, who purchased "remainders," came into possession of a number of copies which the publishers had failed to dispose of, and these he placed upon the market before the work was considered as a *desideratum.* In some impressions the date has been erased, probably by Chidley himself, who doubtless hoped to pass them off as a new publication. As an instance of curious fluctuations in price, it is stated that a

Manchester bookseller once sold a copy of the book for threepence, the same copy shortly afterwards realising eight guineas!

Dickens never cared to reprint "Sunday Under Three Heads"; it had served its purpose at the time, and he subsequently attached no value to it. There are, however, at least two so-called *facsimiles*, which, although readily distinguishable by experts, are likely to deceive the unwary. The first was issued by Jarvis and Son in 1884, with an Introduction and an additional grey wrapper, while the other bears the imprint of a Manchester firm.

"Sketches of Young Gentlemen" (1838), and "Sketches of Young Couples" (1840).

In the fragment of a diary kept by Dickens early in 1838, he wrote, under date January 8th: "I began the 'Sketches of Young Gentlemen' to-day. One hundred and twenty-five pounds for such a little book, without my name to it, is pretty well. This and the 'Sunday,' by-the-bye, are the only two things I have not done as Boz." The dozen Sketches in the little volume here referred to, which are hardly in advance of the earlier

"Sketches by Boz," were evidently written to order, as a kind of protest against a very ungallant attack upon the fair sex in a similar production entitled "Sketches of Young Ladies," by "Quiz," published by Chapman and Hall in 1837. The unavowed author of the latter was E. Caswell, but the style so much resembled Dickens's that many attributed the authorship to him. It comprises a series of chapters humorously descriptive of the idiosyncrasies of "two dozen classes of Young Ladies"; while Dickens, under cover of anonymity, sums up the Young Gentlemen in the same arbitrary fashion.

About two years later a second collection of humorous papers by Dickens was issued, entitled "Sketches of Young Couples"; they were eleven in number, and prefaced by a facetious Introduction, suggested by the Queen's announcement of her approaching marriage. In a letter to Thomas Mitton, February 12th, 1844, the author stated that he received £200 for the "Young Couples,"—"a poor thing of little worth, published without my name."

The "Sketches of Young Gentlemen" were published by Chapman and Hall in 1838, pp. [viii.] 76, illustrated boards, price 3*s*. The present value of a copy

as issued is about £3, while that of its predecessor, being still scarcer, realises a pound or two more. There have been several editions of "Sketches of Young Gentlemen," including one published in 1849 at a shilling, in a limp wrapper, the plates in these cheap reprints being very inferior impressions of the originals.

The full title of Dickens's second booklet reads thus: "Sketches of Young Couples, With an Urgent Remonstrance to the Gentlemen of England, being Bachelors or Widowers, in the present alarming Crisis." It was announced as "by the Author of 'Sketches of Young Gentlemen,'" and published at 3*s.* by Chapman and Hall in 1840, pp. 92, including title and half-title. The "Urgent Remonstrance" is an appeal to bachelors and widowers "to take immediate steps for convening a Public meeting, to consider of the best and surest means of averting the dangers with which they are threatened by the recurrence of Bissextile, or Leap Year," and to adopt measures for resisting and counteracting the "evil designs" of single ladies, etc., etc.

The size of the little volumes is duodecimo, and each contains six etched illustrations by "Phiz."

The "Sketches of Young Couples" must have had a very limited sale as a first edition, for it is seldom met with, and the price of a copy in fine condition readily realises from £5 to £6.

The MSS. of both works are in the Forster Collection at South Kensington.

"A Child's History of England" (1851-52-53).

The late Miss Mamie Dickens has stated that she remembered only one occasion on which her father employed an amanuensis. Miss Georgina Hogarth then acted in that capacity, and to her the Novelist dictated nearly the whole of the "Child's History of England"; at this time Dickens was excessively busy, being simultaneously engaged upon "Bleak House" and the editing of *Household Words*. Miss Hogarth remembers that he dictated the "History" to her "while walking about the room, as a relief after his long, sedentary imprisonment."

"A Child's History of England" was written primarily for publication as a serial in *Household Words*, the instalments covering a period of nearly three years. A portion was prepared, and the work finally

completed, at Boulogne during the latter year, as indicated by a letter written to Forster in September, 1853: "I finished the little History yesterday, and am trying to think of something for the Christmas number" [of *Household Words*]. The Author availed himself of Keightley's "History of England" as the basis of his own book, as evidenced by a copy of that work containing marks and marginal notes in Dickens's autograph. The "History"—a theme altogether outside his usual range of authorship—was compiled with the view of bringing it down to the comprehension of youth; this assertion is borne out by the Dedication: "To my own dear children, whom I hope it will help, by and by, to read with interest larger and better books upon the same subject." In 1853, when quite a youth, Mr. Marcus Stone, R.A., was the recipient of a copy of "A Child's History of England" as a present from the Author, who in a note intimated that the book was true, "though it may be sometimes not as genteel as history has a habit of being."

"A Child's History of England," comprising forty-five chapters, first appeared as a serial in *Household Words*, at irregular intervals, from January 25th, 1851, to

December 10th, 1853, inclusive. It was then divided into thirty-seven chapters, and issued complete in book form by Bradbury and Evans in three small volumes, bound in dark red cloth, with gold design on cover, price 10*s.* 6*d.*, each volume containing a frontispiece by F. W. Topham, surrounded by an ornamental border.

The following are the sub-titles, dates, and collations :—

Vol. I., "England from the Ancient Times, to the death of King John," 1852, pp. [xi.] 210.

Vol. II., "England from the Reign of Henry the Third, to the Reign of Richard the Third," 1853, pp. [viii.] 214.

Vol. III., "England from the Reign of Henry the Seventh, to the Revolution of 1688," 1854, pp. [viii.] 321.

Some editions have later dates, and are not otherwise distinguishable from the first issue.

In a letter to Douglas Jerrold, May 3rd, 1843, Dickens said: "I am writing a little history of England for my boy, which I will send you when it is printed for him, though your boys are too old to profit by it." This allusion was made ten years prior to the production of "A Child's History of England," and had reference

to an altogether different work, which was never completed.*

A copy of the original edition of the "History" is priced at from £3 to £4. Of the numerous reprints special mention must be made of the first cheap issue in the "Charles Dickens" edition, published by Chapman and Hall, post octavo, cloth, in one volume, with four illustrations on wood by Marcus Stone, R.A.

Two of the chapters (ii. and vi.) of "A Child's History of England" are in Dickens's autograph, and the remainder in that of Miss Hogarth. The original MS. is in the Forster Collection.

"The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman" (1839).

Considerable controversy has been excited respecting the authorship of the humorous version of an ancient broadside song, "The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman," which was so admirably illustrated by George Cruikshank. Some literary experts incline to the belief that Dickens was responsible for its production, while others favour Thackeray. Among the latter was G. A. Sala, who considered the

* *Vide* "Letters of Charles Dickens," Vol. I., 85.

work to be mainly that of the author of "Vanity Fair," especially the lines about "The Proud Young Porter" and "The Young Bride's Mother," which, he thought, were "thoroughly and inimitably Thackerayian." Mr. J. F. Dexter states positively that the Preface and Notes were written by Dickens for Cruikshank, and supports his contention by declaring that the artist told him on three different occasions that "Boz" was the actual author of the Notes. Mr. C. P. Johnson expressed the same opinion when preparing his "Hints to Collectors" (1885); but some three years later, on becoming possessed of a scrap-book containing "The Famous History of Lord Bateman," partly in Thackeray's own writing and partly in print, with characteristic illustrations by Thackeray himself, he was converted to Sala's views, and subsequently included particulars of the quaint ballad in his Bibliography of Thackeray.

We are told that George Cruikshank sang the song at a dinner of the Antiquarian Society, at which both Dickens and Thackeray were present; Thackeray said: "I should like to print that ballad with illustrations," but the artist demurred, remarking that he intended doing so himself. There is also the evidence

of Mr. Henry Burnett, who forwarded the following interesting communication to the *Athenæum*, February 25th, 1888:—

"I know 'Lord Bateman' was not written by Dickens. I was at his house when Cruikshank first sang it after supper. Dickens was pleased at the effect produced by the singer, and we laughed much. It was often sung after, and one night Dickens said, 'Cruikshank, why don't you publish that and illustrate it, and let Burnett write out the tune as you sing it to him?' An arrangement was made, and at my house I put down the notes without any care—the G clef all on one side, and many notes falling over. When he sent me a book after publication I found he had copied exactly my carelessness into his book, at which we had many a laugh also.... I think it may be by Cruikshank or made up from some former 'Lord Bateman'; but certainly Dickens never wrote it, as it was at first new to him."

Mrs. Thackeray Ritchie contributed to *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, December, 1892, an interesting comment upon "Lord Bateman: a Ballad," which was illustrated with previously unpublished drawings by her father. These humorous designs were accidentally discovered in an unsuspected drawer of a table that stood in a nursery, and it was only when it fell over with a crash one day that the drawer containing the drawings declared itself. Mrs. Ritchie says: "My own

impression (for which I have absolutely no foundation) is that the Notes *sound* like Mr. Dickens's voice, and the ballad like my own father's." Mr. Trueman, a friend of Cruikshank, is convinced from his own observation that the whole thing was written by Thackeray for the artist; while Miss Hogarth's impression is that Dickens compiled the Notes to assist Cruikshank, but she has no certain recollection of the matter.

Respecting the discovery of the Thackeray-illustrated version of "The Loving Ballad," to which allusion has just been made, Mr. M. H. Spielmann suggests that "Thackeray was intending to produce these elaborate drawings, but in the face of Cruikshank's work desisted from publication."

"The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman" was published in 1839 by Charles Tilt, Fleet Street, and Mustapha Syried, Constantinople. *Collation*: pp. 40. Whether regarded as a Dickens or a Thackeray item, a copy of the first edition of this curious work realises about £5. It was issued in a green cloth cover, with an illustration by George Cruikshank stamped on it in gold, which cover should be preserved. Besides the eleven etched illustrations by Cruikshank there

is a page of music; and it must be pointed out that the genuine first edition has the pagination in the middle, not in the corner, as in subsequent editions. There are several reprints, and it will be observed that the plates in the later issues have been slightly altered and otherwise touched up.

* * * *

The authorship of certain works has been wrongly attributed to Dickens, and, owing to the assumption that he was actually responsible for them, those productions have often realised high prices. The earliest of such writings is entitled "More Hints on Etiquette," published by Charles Tilt in 1838; but a careful examination justifies the opinion that the Novelist had a very small share (if any) in this amusing "skit" upon a similar work, "Hints on Etiquette and the Usages of Society," issued two years previously by the firm of Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman.

"Sergeant Bell and his Raree Show," published by Thomas Tegg in 1839, has also been incorrectly associated with Dickens. It seems, however, that in 1835 Tegg desired the Novelist to state upon what terms he would supply the letterpress, and that £120 was the sum

originally named by Dickens, which was afterwards reduced to £100. The publisher's son (known as "Peter Parley") declared with some authority that all negotiation with the Novelist fell through, so that "Sergeant Bell" evidently emanated from another pen.

Three little *brochures*, entitled "Lizzie Leigh" (1850), "A Curious Dance Round a Curious Tree" (1852), and "Drooping Buds" (1852), have been incorrectly ascribed to Dickens, and big prices have accordingly been paid for them. It has, however, been conclusively proved that the authorship belongs to Mrs. Gaskell, W. H. Wills, and Henry Morley respectively.* These papers originally appeared in *Household Words*, and it is more than probable that Dickens, in his capacity as editor of that journal, added here and there a touch of his own.

* Further particulars concerning these little productions are given in my article, "Pseudo-Dickens Rarities," published in the *Athenæum*, September 11th, 1897.

ARTICLES AND SHORT STORIES IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN JOURNALS.

Bentley's Miscellany (1837-39).

AT the time of the publication of "Pickwick," Richard Bentley, of New Burlington Street, announced his intention of establishing a periodical to be called *The Wits' Miscellany*, and he was anxious to secure the services of a very capable writer to act as conductor of the new journal. He therefore approached the author of "The Pickwick Papers," offering him £20 a month if he would undertake the editorship, an arrangement to which the now famous "Boz" readily consented, the Agreement being duly signed on August 22nd, 1836.

Before its introduction to the public the name of the projected magazine was

changed to *Bentley's Miscellany*, the initial number of which was launched on January 1st, 1837. It having been stipulated that Dickens should furnish the magazine with a serial story, we find in the second number the opening chapters of "Oliver Twist," which was continued from month to month until its conclusion in March, 1839, with illustrations by George Cruikshank.

During his connection with the *Miscellany* the Novelist contributed several items of minor importance, including some humorous papers *re* the "Mudfog Association," these constituting a satire on the proceedings at the meetings of learned Societies. Mr. Pickwick's "Theory of Tittlebats" is similarly a burlesque of the doings of fussy pseudo-scientists.

The following is a list of Dickens's contributions to *Bentley's Miscellany*:—

VOL. I.

1837.

Jan. "Public Life of Mr. Tulrumble, once Mayor of Mudfog." Signed "Boz," with an illustration by George Cruikshank. Pp. 49-63.

Feb. Opening chapters of "Oliver Twist," continued as a serial until its conclusion in March, 1839.

March. "Stray Chapters by 'Boz.'" Chapter I., The Pantomime of Life. Pp. 291-297.

May. "Stray Chapters by 'Boz.'" Chapter II., Some Particulars concerning a Lion. Pp. 515-518.
Editor's Address on the Completion of the First Volume. Signed "Boz," and dated "London, June, 1837." Pp. iii.-iv.

VOL. II.

Oct. "Full Report of the First Meeting of the Mudfog Association for the Advancement of Everything." Signed "Boz." Pp. 397-413.
Address, signed "Boz," and dated "30th November, 1837."

VOL. IV.

1838.
Aug. "Mr. Robert Bolton, the 'Gentleman connected with the Press.'" Pp. 204-206.
Sept. "Full Report of the Second Meeting of the Mudfog Association for the Advancement of Everything." Unsigned, with two illustrations by George Cruikshank. Pp. 209-227.

VOL. V.

1839.
Feb. "Familiar Epistle from a Parent to a Child aged two years and two months." Signed "Boz." Pp. 219-220.

The third number of the *Miscellany* contained a curious production from the Novelist's pen, which was inserted among

the advertisements as a leaflet; it was entitled "Extraordinary Gazette," and written in a style parodying a Royal speech, while at the head of this remarkable announcement appeared a humorous wood-engraving designed by "Phiz," in which he gives a full-length portrait of the youthful "Boz."

At the close of 1838 Dickens retired from the editorship of the magazine, marking the event with a genial valedictory "Epistle." Addressing the *Miscellany* as the "child aged two years and two months," he says: "I resign you to the guardianship and protection of one of my most intimate and valued friends, Mr. Ainsworth, with whom, and with you, my best wishes and warmest feelings will ever remain. I reap no gain or profit by parting from you. Nor will any conveyance of your property be required, for, in this respect, you have always been literally 'Bentley's' miscellany, and never mine." So useful was his influence, even at this time, and so popular had his writings become, that an Agreement was drawn up between himself and Bentley, in which the Author signified his assent to receive an honorarium of £40 a month (just twice the amount of his editorial stipend), merely for lending his name to

the *Miscellany* for a period of two years.*

With the exception of the two Addresses and the "Familiar Epistle," all the minor contributions to the *Miscellany* were reprinted for the first time in 1880, and published in a collected form under the general title of "The Mudfog Papers, etc." (one volume, pp. [iv.] 198), by Richard Bentley and Son. The original MSS. are still in Mr. George Bentley's possession, and, although covered with corrections, erasures, and additions, may be easily deciphered, for at that date Dickens wrote a clearer and bolder hand than in later years.

Hood's Magazine (1844).

When the author of the pathetic "Song of the Shirt" founded the journal that bore his cognomen, his friend Charles Dickens rendered valuable assistance by contributing to the new venture a satirical sketch, upon which he bestowed the title, "Threatening Letter to Thomas Hood, from an Ancient Gentleman." In this amusing paper, beginning "Mr. Hood,

* The original Agreement was sold at Sotheby's in June, 1891, and realised £10 10s. The MS. of the Prospectus, in the autograph of Dickens, was sold in the same rooms on July 23rd, 1870, for £10.

Sir, The Constitution is going at last!" the Author proceeds to give him warning of that portentous event, and endeavours to prove the accuracy of his deductions. The Letter (signed "Constant Reader," and dated "April 23rd, 1844") was written at the time when "General" Tom Thumb excited a perfect *furore*, being received with honour by the Queen. This form of hero-worship struck Dickens in so forcible a manner that he cynically remarked that the way to obtain the favour of the Court, and to attain fame, is not by means of intellectual qualifications, but rather through being a freak of nature—such as a giant or a dwarf. This contribution was printed in the first volume of *Hood's Magazine and Comic Miscellany*, May, 1844, pp. 409-414. The journal was issued in parts, that containing the "Threatening Letter" being valued at from £1 to £1 10*s*.

The Keepsake (1844 and 1852).

In 1844 Dickens composed a set of verses, entitled "A Word in Season," for *The Keepsake*, edited by Lady Blessington. In 1852 he was induced by his friend Miss Power to write a short story, "To be Read at Dusk," for publication in the same fashionable annual,

then under her editorship. This tale really comprises two stories, both of a tragic character, the first being that of an English bride, as narrated by a Genoese courier, while the other is a ghostly legend, dramatically told by a German courier. The volume in which it first appeared (pp. 117-131) is valued at 15*s.*, if in good condition; collectors, however, endeavour to secure it in the scarcer form it subsequently assumed—*viz.*, as a small octavo pamphlet of nineteen pages, with the title, "To be Read at Dusk, by Charles Dickens, London, 1852." Strange to say, only one copy of this pamphlet is known. The type was re-set, and differs from that used in *The Keepsake*, although the work was executed by the same printer. The price demanded in 1891 for this presumably unique impression was £26 5*s.*!

Cornhill Magazine (1864).

Dickens was particularly grieved and distressed when the sad intelligence reached him of Thackeray's sudden death. In a speech delivered on March 29th, 1858, he referred to his brother-novelist as one for whose genius he entertained the warmest admiration, whom he respected as a friend, and as one who not only did honour to literature, but in whom

literature was honoured. Unhappily, in the autumn of that year there began an unfortunate estrangement between the two great writers, which had its origin in the then recent publication of an article by Edmund Yates in *Town Talk*. This misunderstanding, however, was rectified shortly before Thackeray joined the "great majority," and it is recorded that when the two famous novelists met for the last time at the Athenæum Club in the late autumn of 1863, the unrestrained impulse of both was to extend the hand of forgiveness and fellowship.

At the earnest solicitation of Mr. Smith (of Smith, Elder, and Co.) and some of his friends, Dickens agreed to write a memorial tribute to the author of "Vanity Fair," for publication in what was his own journal. "I have done what I would most gladly have excused myself from doing," he wrote to Wilkie Collins on January 24th, 1864. This beautiful and affecting "In Memoriam," which appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* for February, 1864 (pp. 129-132), proves that all trace of their estrangement had vanished. "We had our differences of opinion," the writer averred, declaring that "no one can be surer than I of the greatness and goodness of his heart."

The Examiner (1839-41, 1843, 1848-49).

At one period of its career *The Examiner* enjoyed the privilege of numbering amongst its staff such writers as William Hazlitt and Charles Lamb, with Leigh Hunt in the editorial chair. In the pages of this now defunct journal, during Forster's editorship, Dickens rather enjoyed poking a little fun at Sir Robert Peel and the Tories in the form of satirical verses, to which more detailed reference is made in another chapter. The Novelist also contributed to the literary and theatrical columns of *The Examiner*, more frequently, indeed, than is generally supposed. In 1839, for example, he expressed "his hearty sympathy with Lockhart's handling of certain passages in his admirable Life of Scott that had drawn down upon him the wrath of the Ballantynes," and subsequently he favourably noticed a book by Thomas Hood, to which, however, he privately alluded as "rather poor, but I have not said so, because Hood is too, and ill besides."

Of the later prose essays in *The Examiner*, special reference must be made to a friendly article on George Cruikshank's etchings of "The Drunkard's Children," and to a heartily eulogistic

criticism (written at Forster's request) of John Leech's pictures, *à propos* of the separate publication of that artist's designs executed for Mr. Punch's gallery. The following is a list of Dickens's contributions to *The Examiner*, so far as they can be identified :—

The Examiner.

1839.
March 31. Notice of Mr. John Gibson Lockhart's pamphlet, "The Ballantyne Humbug Handled."

1840.
(?) Notice of Hood's "Up the Rhine." *

1841.
Aug. 7. "The Fine Old English Gentleman. New Version (to be said or sung at all Conservative dinners)." A Squib in verse, of eight stanzas, forty-eight lines. P. 500.
„ 14. "The Quack Doctor's Proclamation." A Squib in verse, of nine stanzas, thirty-six lines. P. 517.
„ 21. "Subjects for Painters. After Paul Pindar." A Squib in verse, seventy lines. P. 532.

1843.
March 4. "Macready as 'Benedick.'" † P. 132.

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* Although specially alluded to in Forster's Life, Vol. I., 161, I have failed to discover this paper.

† Original MS. in the Forster Collection, South Kensington.

June 3. "Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the condition of the persons variously engaged in the University of Oxford.* P. 339. This apparently burlesque Report thus concludes:—

> "All of which we humbly certify to your Majesty,
> "THOMAS TOOKE (L.S.),
> "T. SOUTHWOOD SMITH (L.S.),
> "LEONARD HORNER (L.S.),
> "ROBERT J. SAUNDERS (L.S.).
> "*Westminster, June 1st*, 1843."

1848.

June 24. "The Chinese Junk."* P. 403. Description of the *Keying*, just then brought to England, and exhibited at the East India Docks.

July 8. Notice of "The Drunkard's Children," * a Sequel to "The Bottle." In eight plates by George Cruikshank. P. 436.

Aug. 19. Notice of the "Narrative of the Expedition sent by Her Majesty's Government to the river Niger in 1841, under the command of Captain H. D. Trotter, R.N." * By Captain William Allen, R.N., Commander of H.M.S. *Wilberforce*, and T. R. H. Thomson, M.D., one of the Medical Officers of the Expedition. Pp. 531-533.

Dec. 9. Notice of "The Poetry of Science; or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature." * By Robert Hunt. Pp. 787-788.

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* Original MS. in the Forster Collection, South Kensington.

Dec. 16. "American Panorama."* Pp. 805-806. Describing "a very remarkable Exhibition" at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly—*viz.*, Banvard's Panorama of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.

„ 30. Notice of "The Rising Generation."* A series of twelve drawings on stone, by John Leech. P. 838.

1849.

July 21. Notice of "European Life and Manners, in Familiar Letters to Friends."* By Henry Colman. Pp. 452-453.

Dec. 15. "Court Ceremonies."* Pp. 785-786. A comment upon Queen Adelaide's funeral obsequies, and a recommendation that less pomp and ceremony should be observed in connection with such ceremonies.

The dates of the following contributions to *The Examiner* have not been traced, but the original MSS. are in the Forster Collection :—

1. "London Crime." Contains allusions to Sir Peter Laurie and his intention to "put down suicide."
2. "Judicial Special Pleading." Refers to Baron Alderson's Chartism.
3. "Edinburgh Apprentice School Association." Expresses approval of the Annual Report of "this excellent Educational Society."
4. "Macready as 'King Lear,' at the Haymarket Theatre.

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* Original MS. in the Forster Collection, South Kensington.

5. "'Virginie,' by M. Latour de St. Ytres (English version), and Douglas Jerrold's 'Black-eyed Susan,' at the Marylebone Theatre."
6. "The Tooting Farm." Refers to a pauper children's farming establishment at Tooting, where a virulent epidemic had broken out.
7. "The Paradise at Tooting." Strongly condemning such institutions as the above. A trial at law was held with reference to the Tooting case in 1849, at which date these articles must have been published, probably under altered titles.

The Forster Collection also includes a "galley" proof of an article having corrections in the autograph of Dickens, to whom the authorship of the paper should undoubtedly be attributed. It is entitled "'The Spirit of Chivalry' in Westminster Hall," and vigorously criticises the action of Government officials respecting Maclise's cartoon (completed in December, 1847), their treatment of which caused the artist keen disappointment.

The New York Ledger (1859).

The late Mr. Robert Bonner, proprietor of this influential American journal, approached Dickens in 1859 with a request that he should furnish him with a short tale for publication in the *New York*

Ledger. Although the proffered honorarium was the very munificent sum of a thousand pounds, the Novelist was at first loth to consent; but, his objections being overcome by such generous terms, he eventually yielded to Mr. Bonner's pressing demands. "I thought," he wrote, "that I could not be tempted at this time to engage in any undertaking, however short, but the literary project which will come into active existence next month.* But your proposal is so handsome that it changes my resolution, and I cannot refuse it. . . . I will endeavour to be at work upon the tale while this note is on its way to you across the water." The brief story took the form of "a romance of the real world," and was entitled "Hunted Down," narrating the history of an assurance effected on the life of Mr. Alfred Becksmith by Mr. Julius Slinkton, of the Middle Temple, whom he (Slinkton) attempts to poison, but, foiled in his object, destroys himself.

Particular interest centres in the fact that the prototype of Julius Slinkton, the rascal of the story, was the notorious Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, a clever essayist, artist, and critic—the "Janus Weathercock" of the *London Magazine*,

* "A Tale of Two Cities."

the *confrère* of Northcote, Campbell, and Charles Lamb, the friend of Talfourd, Bulwer, and of Dickens himself.* A murderer and forger of the most consummate kind, he insured the lives of young and innocent girls, and then poisoned them in so crafty a manner that the crime could never be brought home to him, until at length the insurance offices, yearning to be rid of this monstrous caitiff, offered to forego the capital charges if he would plead guilty to a transportable felony. This he did, and, being sent to New South Wales, was liberated after a time on ticket-of-leave. For a while he earned a struggling livelihood as a miniature-painter at Sydney, but he died at last in abject misery and abandonment. Before transportation he was temporarily incarcerated in Newgate prison, and here Dickens, accompanied by Forster, Macready, and Hablot Browne, saw the man who, a short time previously, had been a shining light in literary and artistic circles; so great was the change in his personal appearance that Macready was horrified to recognise in him one whom he had familiarly known in former years, and at whose table he

* Wainewright was also the *primum mobile* of Bulwer Lytton's novel "Lucretia."

had dined. The principal facts of this deplorable and pathetic career will be found incorporated in that of the detestable Julius Slinkton.

In a little memorandum-book which Dickens once kept for jotting down hints for future stories, we discover, in the following lines, the germ of "Hunted Down":—

"Devoted to the Destruction of a man. Revenge built up on love. The secretary in the Wainewright case, who had fallen in love (or supposed he had) with the murdered girl."

Then comes a hint of the villain in the story:—

"The man with his hair parted straight up the front of his head, like an aggravating gravel-walk. Always presenting it to you. 'Up here, if you please. Neither to the right nor left. Take me exactly in this direction. Straight up here. Come off the grass——'"

"Hunted Down" was published in the *New York Ledger* of August 20th and 27th and September 3rd, 1859, with seven woodcut illustrations; it then appeared in *All the Year Round* on August 4th and 11th, 1860 (pp. 397-400, 422-427). The only reprint in a separate form was issued by John Camden Hotten, Piccadilly, 16mo, green wrappers, pp. 89 [1870],

with the following title: "Hunted Down; a Story by Charles Dickens. With some account of Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, the poisoner." A woodcut on the title-page represents "The Fatal House, No. 12, Conduit Street, W.," and it is worthy of remark that the scarce little book, originally priced at 6*d.*, now realises £1. At Christmas, 1870, the same publisher introduced the story in the *Piccadilly Annual*, prefaced by a short explanatory introduction; in this form its present value is 5*s.* or 6*s.* "Hunted Down" is included in the later English editions of the Novelist's works.

The Atlantic Monthly (1868 and 1869).

After Dickens's return from America in 1868, his friend James T. Fields (of the publishing firm Ticknor and Fields, Boston, U.S.A.) persuaded Dickens to prepare a story for the *Atlantic Monthly*, for which the same substantial sum of £1,000 was paid, although the writing of it occupied the author but a few days. It is entitled "George Silverman's Explanation," and appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* during the months of January, February, and March, 1868 (pp. 118-123, 145-149, 277-283); reprinted in *All the*

Year Round on February 1st, 15th, 29th, 1868 (pp. 180-183, 228-230, 276-281), since when it has been included in the later English editions of the Novelist's works. The present value of the three numbers of the *Atlantic Monthly*, as above, is from 15*s.* to £1. The little story has also been issued in pamphlet form, square 12mo, pp. 53, pink wrappers, undated.

In the following year Fields, Osgood, and Co. secured for the same magazine an article from Dickens "On Mr. Fechter's Acting," which was intended as a means of introducing the great tragedian to the American public—an admirable and enthusiastic analysis of the dramatic genius of his friend, whose performance of the part of Obenreizer in "No Thoroughfare," contributed so much to the success of that play. This article, absolutely the Novelist's last casual piece of writing, was published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1869 (pp. 242-244), and bears the Author's signature.

Our Young Folks (1868).

About two years previously Dickens had engaged to write another tale for Ticknor and Fields, the first instalment

of which was published simultaneously with the opening chapters of "George Silverman's Explanation." The story was entitled "Holiday Romance," and concerning it the Author forwarded the following letter (dated July 25th, 1867) to Mr. Fields: "I hope the Americans will see the joke of 'Holiday Romance.' The writing seems to me so like children's, that dull folks (on *any* side of *any* water) might perhaps rate it accordingly. I should like to be beside you when you read it, and particularly when you read the Pirate's story. It made me laugh to that extent that my people here thought I was out of my wits, until I gave it to them to read, when they did likewise." To Forster he observed: "I hope it is droll, and very child-like; though the joke is a grown-up one besides. You must try to like the Pirate story, for I am very fond of it."

"Holiday Romance" was published in *Our Young Folks, an Illustrated Magazine for Boys and Girls*, during the months of January, March, April, and May, 1868 (pp. 1-7, 129-136, 193-200, 257-263). It contains a portrait of the Author, together with four illustrations by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Gilbert, and initial-letter designs by G. G. White and S. Eytinge.

The story was reprinted in *All the Year Round* (January 25th, February 8th, March 14th, April 4th, 1868, pp. 156-159, 204-208, 324-327, 396-399), and has since been included in the later editions of the Novelist's works. The price usually demanded for the above-mentioned numbers of *Our Young Folks* is £1.

Although Dickens received the very substantial fee of £1,000 for this little work, the American publishers did not obtain exclusive rights, as incorrectly stated in their announcement of the story. Regarding the "thousand pound prices," Forster remarks: "There are no other such instances, I suppose, in the history of Literature." As he truly observes, these stories—*viz.*, "George Silverman's Explanation" and "Holiday Romance"—principally claim notice by reason of the astounding sums the Author received for them, as neither contains more than half the quantity of a shilling number of his ordinary serials, while their merits as literary productions are by no means conspicuous.

The Daily News (1846 and 1861).

During the early 'forties Dickens found an occasional vent for his radical views

by writing articles for the *Morning Chronicle*—the paper with which he was connected in his juvenile days, both as reporter and as author of those remarkable papers subsequently known as "Sketches by Boz." Certain of these political articles having excited public comment, the proprietors eagerly mooted the question as to what payment he would demand for regular contributions, the sum of ten guineas an article being then suggested by them; it was afterwards considered preferable, however, that he should undertake to write voluntarily, and leave the amount of remuneration to be adjusted by results. Then came another proposal—*viz.*, in the event of the Novelist going abroad (as he then anticipated), could he contemplate the idea of preparing a weekly letter for the *Chronicle*? The result of these endeavours to secure his services is briefly summarised in the following letter (dated March 10th, 1844) from Dickens to his solicitor-friend:—

"My dear Mitton: Easthope is such a damned screw, and it is so impossible to fix him to anything, that I thought it best not to dally, but to do something—or the good men of the past, if they heard I was standing out on a question of finances (which they would be sure to do from him), might think I had rather

forgotten Fred's quick appointment and rapid removal. So I said to Doyle, 'I won't make any bargain with him at all, or haggle like a peddler, but I'll write a leader now and then, and leave him in June to send me a cheque for the whole. He shall set his own value on them; and if he sets too little, the shame is his, and not mine.' He would pay ANY THING, he says, for letters from Italy, but that wouldn't do. I have no doubt he would pay 20 guineas a week. But it wouldn't do.

"I send you a paper with my first article in it, the second leader.* When you have read it send it me back, as I have no other. . . .

"Faithfully Yours,

"C. D."

This attempt to induce the Novelist to thus favour the *Morning Chronicle* was practically ineffectual. The subject, however, is worthy of notice, because in the consultation that was held to decide the question lay the germ of another newspaper enterprise, which was soon to be developed. The foregoing events occurred immediately prior to the Novelist's departure for Italy in 1844; and on his return to England in the following year the desire to establish a periodical was very strong within him. He at first entertained the notion of a cheap weekly

* This leader appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, March 9th, 1844, and has reference to agricultural interests.

journal to be called *The Cricket* which was to "put everybody in a good temper, and make such a dash at people's fenders and arm-chairs as hasn't been made for many a long day." This proposal was discarded in favour of a larger scheme, which, in its extent and its danger, was (says Forster) "more suitable to the wild and hazardous enterprises of that prodigious year of excitement and disaster." It was nothing less than the founding in London of a daily newspaper, about which he was so keen that Forster, knowing what would be involved by so vast an undertaking, endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from embarking upon it. But Dickens's will prevailed, and the result was the institution of the *Daily News*, that successful journal which claims to be the oldest Liberal daily paper in the Metropolis.

The prospectus announced that the paper would be free from personal influence and party bias, and that the most attractive feature would be the "Literary Department," because of its being under the personal direction of the Novelist. The first number appeared on January 21st, 1846, the publishers (Bradbury and Evans) supplying the necessary capital.*

* A *facsimile* reprint of No. 1 was issued by

Money was freely disbursed by the wealthy shareholders in advertising, and it is said that specimen copies were despatched to almost every man in the kingdom. Dickens had secured the services of many prominent writers, while he himself held the editorial reins, with a salary of £2,000 a year. Under such conditions, it is not surprising to find the initial sheet a really brilliant one. The year that ushered in the new paper was a time of great political disquietude; indeed, the very day which saw its advent was that which followed Peel's speech for the repeal of the Corn Laws, an agitation which the Liberal party so warmly supported, and upon which the *Daily News* immediately began to concentrate its activity.

In the first number of the *Daily News* appears the beginning of a series of "Travelling Sketches—Written on the Road, by Charles Dickens," which were continued at irregular intervals until March 2nd. It is believed, from internal evidence, that the Editor also had a hand in the opening Address, and doubtless there are other unacknowledged con-

the proprietors on January 21st, 1896, together with a special Jubilee edition of the paper, giving an account of its origin and history.

tributions by him in subsequent issues. In the initial impression an unfortunate misprint in the price of Stocks (the numerals 93 being accidentally transposed) caused the *Daily News* to be regarded somewhat contemptuously by "city" men, and in the second issue there is a good-humoured letter protesting that the arrangements were by no means perfect. It has lately transpired that both the letter and the editorial rejoinder were written by Dickens, who had probably heard some unfavourable comments; the former is quite in the Dickensian vein, and is therefore worthy of quotation:—

"To the Editor of the 'Daily News.'

"Sir,—Will you excuse my calling your attention to a variety of typographical errors in your first number? Several letters are standing on their heads, and several others seem to have gone out of town; while others, like people who are drawn from the militia, appear by deputy, and are sometimes very oddly represented. I have an interest in the subject, as I intend to be, if you will allow me,

"Your Constant Reader.

"21*st January*, 1846."

The reply runs thus:—

"We can assure our good-humoured correspondent that we are quite conscious of the errors he does us the favour to point out so leniently. The very many inaccuracies and

omissions in our first impression are attributable to the disadvantageous circumstances attending the production of a first number. They will not occur, we trust, in any other.

"ED. 'DAILY NEWS.'"

Dickens threw himself into the work with characteristic energy; but, as his friends anticipated, he very quickly discovered that the editing of a daily political paper, with all its incessant labour and supervision, was for him impossible. Although supported by a thoroughly efficient staff, comprising such men as John Forster, Douglas Jerrold, Mark Lemon, Father Mahony, W. J. Fox, Albany Fonblanque, Charles Mackay, and W. H. Wills,* he soon sickened of the mechanical drudgery involved in the production of a daily newspaper. On February 9th he wrote to Forster that he was "tired to death and quite worn out," and had just resigned his editorial functions,—a result for which his friend and colleague was not altogether un-

* "No doubt," observes Mrs. Oliphant, "his relations with his staff would be delightfully genial, and his room in the office was a pleasant haunt, much frequented by his friends; but the publisher admitted to one of Dickens's latest biographers that 'he was not sure that the work did not sometimes begin after the editor had left'!"

prepared. He remained in office, however, until the end of the seventeenth number, when Forster reluctantly assumed the reins for the remainder of the year. Owing to the series of "Travelling Letters" having begun, Dickens's name could not at once be withdrawn, and for a time during which they were still to appear he consented to furnish occasional correspondence on important social questions. In a little more than four months, however, his connection with the paper had ceased. The Novelist afterwards looked upon this experience in journalism with certain feelings of melancholy regret; but of this there can be no doubt, that had he continued to remain editor of the *Daily News* he must have sacrificed the best part of a superb literary career.

The following list represents Dickens's acknowledged contributions to the *Daily News*:—

1846.

Jan. 21. "Travelling Sketches," No. 1. [From Paris to Chalons.]

„ 24. "Travelling Sketches," No. 2. Lyons, the Rhone, and the Goblin of Avignon.

„ „ "The British Lion. A New Song, but an Old Story." Signed "Catnach."

„ 31. "Travelling Sketches," No. 3. Avignon to Genoa.

Feb. 4. "Crime and Education." Letter (1½ cols.) signed "Charles Dickens," urging the claims of Ragged Schools, and descriptive of the writer's visit to one on Saffron Hill.

„ 9. "Travelling Sketches," No. 4. A Retreat at Albaro.

„ 14. "The Hymn of the Wiltshire Labourers." Five stanzas. Signed "Charles Dickens."

„ 16. "Travelling Sketches," No. 5. First Sketch of Genoa. The Streets, Shops, and Houses.

„ 26. "Travelling Sketches," No. 6. In Genoa.

March 2. "Travelling Sketches," No. 7. In Genoa, and out of it.

„ 9, 13, 16. "Letters on Social Questions.—Capital Punishment." Three lengthy Letters, signed "Charles Dickens."

1861.

Nov. 23. "The Election for Finsbury." Letter signed "Charles Dickens."

The "Travelling Sketches" were afterwards printed as a volume, under the title of "Pictures from Italy," with illustrations by Samuel Palmer.

An interesting incident in the history of the *Daily News* is the production of a trial or "dummy" paper, the object of which was to test the completeness of the printing arrangements. This "bogus" issue is dated January 19th, but it was actually machined on the night of the

17th; and "although every care was taken," says Mr. Thomas Britton, the late publisher, "to keep the specimen copies quite private, some of them must have gone astray; hence an occasional bet which I have been called on to decide regarding the date of the first publication of the paper." The fictitious number "is mainly composed of debates, news, and messages, apparently made up, for the most part, from other papers. It has, however, a somewhat incoherent description of the execution of the murderer Tapping at Newgate, evidently from the pen of Charles Dickens—for it foreshadows his three eloquent letters on Capital Punishment which appeared a few weeks later, as well as his letters on the hanging of the Mannings, husband and wife *—together with a humorous leading article, in which his hand is no less manifestly traceable. The latter takes the form of an indignant protest against the supposed

* Published in the *Times*, November 14th and 19th, 1849. These letters, which led to the abolition of public executions, were reprinted as an eight-page pamphlet, containing an introductory note by the publisher (Dyson, High Street, Shoreditch), dated November 21st, 1849. To a certain extent Mrs. Manning was the prototype of Mdlle. Hortense, in "Bleak House."

conduct of a jury at the Old Bailey in acquitting, by a verdict of 'justifiable homicide,' 'a person named Jones, said to be of prepossessing and modest exterior,' on an indictment for 'wilfully and maliciously occasioning the death of five bricklayers, seven carpenters, two furniture-warehouse porters, three painters, and a plasterer.' The person named Jones is stated to have lured the unfortunate men to the performance in certain premises in Whitefriars of various feats of bodily strength and supernatural muscular exertion, to which they fell an untimely sacrifice. The trial, I need hardly say, was purely imaginary, the burlesque comment being written for the amusement of the Author's colleagues and coadjutors, who were aware of the haste and pressure under which Mr. Jones, who was the master-printer, had been induced at short notice to undertake the work of preparing the rooms and offices in Bouverie Street for the reception of the editor and his staff. An interest now lies in the fact of its being an unknown skit by Dickens, albeit its humour and significance have in great degree vanished." *

* Mr. Moy Thomas, in the Jubilee number of the *Daily News*, January 21st, 1896.

There exists an impression of the first number of the *Daily News* which is invested with special interest, for this particular copy (now somewhat faded and tattered) contains in the right upper corner of the front page the following memorandum in the autograph of Mrs. Charles Dickens: "Brought home by Charles at two o'clock in the morning, January 21st. Catherine Dickens." The writing has been duly verified; but the lady was probably mistaken in the hour, for it must have been later in the day when the machining of the edition was completed.

Of the *Daily News* MSS. in the autograph of Dickens the following are in the Forster Collection at South Kensington: The Original Prospectus; the two first Letters on Social Questions, apparently incomplete; "Travelling Letters," No. 7, incomplete, the first three pages in the Author's handwriting, the remainder only corrected and altered by him, and "Travelling Letters," No. 8, all in the handwriting of the Author, except pp. 4 and 5, which were corrected and altered by him.

HOUSEHOLD WORDS AND *ALL THE YEAR ROUND.*

Household Words (1850-1859).

For some years prior to the appearance of *Household Words* Dickens entertained a keen desire to found a periodical publication over which he could exercise entire control. In 1845 he wrote: "I really think I have an idea, and not a bad one, for a periodical. I have turned it over, the last two days, very much in my mind; and think it positively good. I incline still to weekly; price three halfpence, if possible; partly original, partly select; notices of books, notices of theatres, notices of all good things, notices of all bad ones; *Carol* philosophy, cheerful views, sharp anatomization of humbug, jolly good temper; papers always in season, put to the time of year; and a vein of glowing, hearty, generous, mirthful, beaming reference in everything to Home, and Fireside. And I could call it, sir,—

"THE CRICKET.

"'A cheerful creature that chirrups on the hearth.'—*Natural History.*"

The proposed weekly paper, however,

was not thus designated, the above title being reserved for his second Christmas Book. Four years later, when engaged upon "David Copperfield," the subject was again revived, in a letter to Forster dated September 24th: "The old notion of the Periodical, which has been agitating itself in my mind for so long, I really think is at last gradually growing into form"; and a few days later he further intimated that his idea was that of "a weekly journal, price either three-halfpence or twopence, matter in part original and in part selected, and always having, if possible, a little good poetry." After detailing a number of subjects suitable for the proposed journal, he adds: "Now to bind all this together, and to get a character established as it were which any of the writers may maintain without difficulty, I want to suppose a certain SHADOW, which may go into any place, by sunlight, moonlight, starlight, firelight, candlelight, and be in all houses, and all nooks and corners, and be supposed to be cognisant of everything, and go everywhere, without the least difficulty. . . ."

The idea of such "a kind of semi-omniscient, omnipresent, intangible creature" as this project assumed in the

Novelist's mind was doubtless an excellent one; but Forster did not consider its realisation altogether feasible, and had grave doubts as to its success. Eventually the scheme took a different form—*viz.*, that of a weekly miscellany of general literature, comprising short stories of himself and others, papers upon important social questions, and articles upon subjects of general public interest; accordingly, at the close of 1849, a preliminary announcement of the intended venture was made. Dickens did not think it would do to adopt the title first proposed by him, "The Shadow," as it did not entirely "express the notion of its being a cheerful, useful, and always welcome Shadow." Then came the following, with comments thereon:—

"THE ROBIN. With this motto from Goldsmith, '*The redbreast, celebrated for its affection to mankind, continues with us, the year round.*'"

"MANKIND. This I think very good."

"CHARLES DICKENS. A weekly journal designed for the instruction and entertainment of all classes of readers. 'Conducted by himself.'" (This was characterised as "a strange idea, but with decided advantages.")

These tentative titles were succeeded by others, some of which were decidedly

more appropriate. "I really think," wrote the Novelist, "if there *be* anything wanting in the other name" [the last-mentioned], "that this is very pretty, and just supplies it. The Household Voice. I have thought of many others, as—The Household Guest. The Household Face. The Comrade. The Microscope. The Highway of Life. The Lever. The Rolling Years. The Holly Tree (with two lines from Southey for a motto). Everything. But I rather think the Voice is it." Presently came "Household Words. This is a very pretty name," of which the final choice was made, supplemented by an appropriate quotation from Shakespeare's *Henry V.*: "Familiar in their mouths as Household Words."

A few weeks before the initial number was launched Dickens observed: "We hope to do some solid good, and we mean to be as cheery and pleasant as we can." His fame enabled him to secure the services of a band of promising young writers, as well as a strong contingent of authors and journalists who had already won their spurs in the field of Literature. Among those to whom he made a special appeal for assistance on behalf of the new venture was Mrs. Mary Howitt, and the following letters *à propos* of the subject

are now printed for the first time, by the kind permission of Miss Hogarth* :—

"DEVONSHIRE TERRACE,
"*Tuesday Evening,*
"*Nineteenth February,* 1850.

"DEAR MRS. HOWITT,

"I address this note to Mr. Howitt no less than to you. You will easily divine its purpose I dare say—or at all events you would, if you knew what companions of mine you have ever been.

"You may have seen the first dim announcements of the new cheap literary weekly journal I am about to start. Frankly, I want to say to you that if you would ever write for it you would delight me, and I should consider myself very fortunate indeed in enlisting your assistance.

"I propose to print no names of contributors either in my own case or any other, and to give established writers the power of reclaiming their papers after a certain time. I hope any connexion with the enterprise would be satisfactory and agreeable to you in all respects—as I should most earnestly endeavour to make it—and I should be proud to give you, personally, any explanation you might like to have.

"If I wrote a book, I could say no more than I mean to suggest to you in these few lines. All that I leave unsaid, I leave to your generous understanding.

"Believe me always,
"Faithfully yours,
"CHARLES DICKENS.

"Mrs. Howitt."

On February 23rd the Novelist thus

* For access to these letters I am indebted to Messrs. Noel Conway and Co., of Birmingham.

explained certain points concerning which Mrs. Howitt requested further information:—

"The kind of papers of which I stand most in need are *short stories*, with such a general purpose in them as we all three have in all we do. But I only mention this, as a direct answer to a direct question. Whatever you may write earnestly and at your own pleasure, will be most welcome to me. All social evils, and all home affections and associations, I am particularly anxious to deal with. As to time, all that my modesty will permit me to say on this head is, no time can be too soon. I am getting a great mass of matter together, from a variety of sources. I purpose beginning on the 30th of March, and it will be necessary to be always three weeks in advance. Some foreign arrangements render this obligatory."

The first number of *Household Words* appeared on Saturday, March 30th, 1850, price *2d.*, with an Introduction, or "Preliminary Word," by the Editor himself. It was his constant and deliberate endeavour to make the paper appeal to all classes. "KEEP 'HOUSEHOLD WORDS' IMAGINATIVE!" was the "solemn and continual Conductorial Injunction" which three years afterwards he impressed upon his coadjutor, W. H. Wills, the Novelist's second self in the management of the journal. It soon became apparent that

in *Household Words* Dickens had struck the right vein, for his popularity would ensure the good fortune of the paper, while he would not be under the necessity of preparing the whole of the text himself. The new journal quickly proved a financial success, and in a letter to the Rev. J. White on July 13th, 1850, Dickens said: "'Household Words' goes on *thoroughly well.* It is expensive, of course, and demands a large circulation; but it is taking a great and steady stand, and I have no doubt already yields a good round profit."

When *Household Words* was inaugurated the only regular staff-contributors of original articles were W. H. Wills, and R. H. Horne (author of "Orion," the "farthing epic"), with the Editor himself, who, however, soon gathered around him many of the best writers of the day. The younger scribes imitated, more or less, the pronounced literary style of their "Chief" (as they proudly called him); but in most cases the Dickensian feeling imparted to their articles and stories is principally due to the fact that the Editor often added touches of his own in the proofs, interpolating thoroughly characteristic illustrations and metaphors, which much improved the subjects so treated,

although at the same time it laid their authors open to the taunt of having slavishly copied the "Master." Sala has pointed out that the strict preservation of the anonymity had certain evil consequences to the young writers, not the least of which was that many of their contributions were attributed to Dickens, and sometimes reprinted with his name; this, he contended, was decidedly unfair to the rising authors, whose literary and commercial prospects were unwittingly retarded by the suppression of their names. Besides this, such anonymity, always so jealously preserved, considerably enhances the difficulty of identifying all the papers written entirely by the Editor; indeed, any attempt to do so thus becomes practically impossible.

In 1844 Bradbury and Evans entered into an Agreement with Dickens by which they acquired an interest in all the works he might write, or in any periodical he might originate, during a term of seven years. *Household Words* was the joint property of Dickens, Bradbury and Evans, W. H. Wills, and Forster. Dickens was to have one-half part as share, the printers one-fourth, and Wills and Forster one-eighth respectively; it was agreed "that Dickens was to be editor, and in that

capacity should exercise absolute control over the literary department, and over all agreements, rates of payment made in respect of that department; and should be entitled, so long as he continued editor, to receive £500 per annum, and to be paid in addition for any literary articles he might contribute, as well as to participate in any profits that might accrue to him as part proprietor. Mr. Forster contributed without remuneration, and Mr. Wills was to receive £8 a week as sub-editor, in addition to his profits as part proprietor." *

On June 17th, 1858, the printers of *Household Words* learned from a common friend that Dickens had resolved to cease his connection with them because a "personal" statement which had just appeared in *Household Words* (denying the accuracy of certain rumours respecting the Novelist's separation from his wife) was not reprinted in *Punch*, of which they were the proprietors. Although no previous request for the insertion had been made either to the printers or the editor, Dickens determined to dissolve partnership, and, by publicly announcing this, forced Bradbury and Evans to an unwilling recourse to the Court of Chancery

* *Town Talk*, April 9th, 1859.

to restrain him from advertising the discontinuance of *Household Words*. After offering £1,000 to the printers for their share, and various other business proposals having been made and rejected, the journal (with the copyright) was sold on May 16th, 1859, under a decree in Chancery, so that the printers had no further interest in its continuance. The sale (conducted by Messrs. Hodgson, of Chancery Lane) also included the *Household Narrative of Current Events*, a monthly compendium of news edited by George Hogarth—an entirely separate publication, which, not being a success, stopped at about the seventieth number, so that sets are now rare.* The "lot" was eventually knocked down for £3,500 to Mr. Arthur Smith (brother of Albert Smith, the novelist), who acted on Dickens's behalf. The foolish estrangement between Dickens and Mark Lemon (then the editor of *Punch*), brought about by this unfortunate affair, went on until, years afterwards, Clarkson Stanfield on his death-bed besought Dickens to resume his friendship with the man with whom, after all, he had no cause for quarrel.

* There also appeared in 1856-57 the *Household Words* Almanack, which was partially illustrated.

So Dickens sent Lemon a kindly letter when "Uncle Mark" appeared as "Falstaff" in amateur theatricals; and "when Stanfield was buried the two men" (says Mr. M. H. Spielmann, in his "History of *Punch*") "clasped hands over his open grave." On the death of Dickens some of the most touching and beautiful verses that ever appeared in *Punch* were devoted to the Novelist's memory.

Having relinquished all connection with *Household Words*, Bradbury and Evans immediately started a new periodical, called *Once a Week*, the first number of which was published on July 2nd, 1859. In *Town Talk* of that year it was stated that there was a chance of Thackeray becoming editor of *Household Words* if Bradbury and Evans could buy the property.

The final issue of *Household Words* (No. 479) bears date May 28th, 1859, and contains the following contribution by Dickens:—

"*A Last Household Word.*

"The first page of the first of these Nineteen Volumes, was devoted to a Preliminary Word from the writer by whom they were projected, under whose constant supervision they have been produced, and whose name has been (as his pen and himself have been), inseparable from the Publication ever since.

"The last page of the last of these Nineteen Volumes, is closed by the same hand.

"He knew perfectly well, knowing his own rights, and his means of attaining them, that it *could not be* but that this Work must stop, if he chose to stop it. He therefore announced, many weeks ago, that it would be discontinued on the day on which this final Number bears date. The Public have read a great deal to the contrary, and will observe that it has not in the least affected the result."

So concluded the series of *Household Words*. In 1858, under the title of "Reprinted Pieces," thirty-one sketches that appeared in this periodical from 1850 to 1856 were for the first time collected and acknowledged in the eighth volume of the Library Edition of Dickens's Works (Chapman and Hall, pp. 153-435), among them being the Novelist's contributions to the Christmas Numbers of 1850, 1852, and 1853.

In 1868 a cheap re-issue of *Household Words* was begun by Messrs. Ward, Lock, and Tyler, the first part appearing on May 1st, price 6*d*., and continued until the completion of the set of nineteen volumes, each being bound in a stiff wrapper, printed in colours.

All the Year Round (1859-1869).

A month before the last appearance of *Household Words* there was published,

at the same price, the initial number of a new journal under Dickens's auspices, which was destined to take the place of the earlier periodical; or rather, the latter was to be incorporated with the younger paper under a fresh name. On the first page of the concluding number of *Household Words* it was stated that the publication would "merge into the new weekly publication, *All the Year Round*, and the title, *Household Words*, will form a part of the title-page of *All the Year Round*."* The title, as before, gave some little trouble, and it is curious that one of the first names thought of for *Household Words* should foreshadow, in the motto which accompanied it, the selected title of the new series. Several titles were submitted to Forster for his opinion, to whom Dickens wrote on January 24th, 1859: "Don't you think this is a good name and quotation? I have been quite delighted to get hold of it for our title.

"*Household Harmony.*

"'At last by notes of Household Harmony.'—*Shakespeare.*"

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* It was not until May 28th, 1859, the date of the final issue of *Household Words*, that the title of *All the Year Round* included the line, "with which is incorporated *Household Words*."

Acting upon the advice of his friend, this was rejected, as were the following:—

The Hearth.	Seasonable Leaves.	Twopence.
The Forge.	Evergreen Leaves.	English Bells.
The Crucible.	Home.	Weekly Bells.
The Anvil of the Time.	Home-Music.	The Rocket.
	Change.	Good Humour.
Charles Dickens's Own.	Time and Tide.	

To Wilkie Collins he sent a copy of this list, for he could "make no way" until he had got a name. It is a strange coincidence that the list enclosed in the letter to Mr. Collins should begin with "Query.—*Once a Week*," that being the identical title adopted by Bradbury and Evans for their new periodical, which started some five months later! Following this came the designation which was eventually accepted, together with three of the proposed names to which he gave the preference—*viz.*, (1) *Weekly Bells*; (2) *The Forge*; (3) *Evergreen Leaves*. "If *The Forge* only," he remarked, "some *motto*, explaining title, something like 'We beat out our ideas on this."*

* In the "Letters of Charles Dickens" (Vol. I., 219), a quotation from Longfellow is given as a suitable motto for *The Forge*. Presumably by an oversight, the titles proposed for *All the Year Round* are printed on the same page of the "Letters" as titles suggested for *Household Words*.

On January 28th, 1859, Dickens exultingly wrote to Forster: "I have just hit upon a name that I think really an admirable one—especially with the quotation *before* it, in the place where our present *H. W.* quotation stands.

"'The story of our lives, from year to year.' —*Shakespeare.*

"*All the Year Round.*

"A weekly journal conducted by Charles Dickens."

The first number is dated April 30th, 1859, and contains the opening chapters of "A Tale of Two Cities." In the prospectus Dickens promised an identity of principle in its conduct with that of its predecessor; and not only was his own personality as prominent as ever, but he still retained the services of the staff of writers with whom he had previously co-operated, strengthened eventually by others.

So successful was *All the Year Round* at the outset that the circulation of the fifth number trebled that of the concluding number of *Household Words*, both being issued simultaneously. With reference to the result of the first quarter's account of the sale, Dickens wrote:

"So well has *All the Year Round* gone that it was yesterday able to repay me, with five per cent. interest, all the money I advanced for its establishment (paper, print, etc., all paid, down to the last number), and yet to leave a good £500 balance at the bankers!"

Just previous to the completion of the twentieth volume Dickens announced, in an Address to his readers, the commencement of an entirely new series, principally with the object of enabling him to carry out some desirable technical improvements which could not otherwise be effected. He also made the important intimation that the Extra Christmas Number would be abolished, because of the probability of its becoming tiresome through the vast quantity of imitations that were issued. This Address, with only an alteration of the first sentence, also closed the last page of the last number of the twentieth volume. The Second Series of *All the Year Round* began on December 5th, 1868, a decorative woodcut heading being introduced as a new feature in the first and succeeding numbers, while larger type was adopted than hitherto. The initial page contained an announcement "To the Public," signed by Dickens, in which he denies

the report (then current) that he had relinquished the editorship.

With the assistance of the late Mr. Charles Dickens the younger, rendered but a few weeks prior to his death, I am enabled to compile the following list of his father's writings in *Household Words*, which list I believe to be as complete as it is possible to make it, internal evidence being the only clue to authorship :—

"*HOUSEHOLD WORDS.*"

Serial Contributions.

1851.

Jan. 25 to Dec. 10. A Child's History of England.*

1854.

April 1 to Aug. 12. Hard Times. For these Times.*

Occasional Papers.

1850.

March 30. A Preliminary Word. Pp. 1-2.
" " The Amusements of the People. First Paper. Pp. 13-15.*
April 6. A Child's Dream of a Star. Pp. 25-26.
" " Perfect Felicity in a Bird's-Eye View. Pp. 36-38.
" 13. The Household Narrative. P. 49.

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* Original MS. in the Forster Collection.

April	13.	The Amusements of the People. Second Paper. Pp. 57-60.*
May	11.	From the Raven in the Happy Family. First Paper. Pp. 156-158.
„	18.	The Begging-Letter Writer. Pp. 169-172.*
„	25.	A Walk in a Workhouse. Pp. 204-207.
June	8.	From the Raven in the Happy Family. Second Paper. Pp. 241-242.
„	15.	Old Lamps for New Ones. Pp. 265-267.
„	22.	The Sunday Screw. Pp. 289-292.
July	20.	The Ghost of Art. Pp. 385-387.
„	27.	A Detective Police Party. First Paper. Pp. 409-414.
Aug.	10.	A Detective Police Party. Second Paper. Pp. 457-460.
„	24.	From the Raven in the Happy Family. Third Paper. Pp. 505-507.
Sept.	14.	Three "Detective" Anecdotes. Pp. 577-580.
Oct.	19.	A Poor Man's Tale of a Patent. Pp. 73-75.
„	26.	Lively Turtle. Pp. 97-99.
Dec.	14.	A December Vision. Pp. 265-267.

1851.

Feb.	22.	"Births.—Mrs. Meek, of a Son." Pp. 505-507.
March	8.	A Monument of French Folly. Pp. 553-558.
„	22.	Bill-Sticking. Pp. 601-606.

* Original MS. in the Forster Collection.

May 10. The Guild of Literature and Art. Pp. 145-147.
June 14. On Duty with Inspector Field. Pp. 265-270.
„ 28. A Few Conventionalities. Pp. 313-315.
Aug. 2. Our Watering-Place. Pp. 433-436.
„ 23. Whole Hogs. Pp. 505-507.
„ 30. A Flight. Pp. 529-533.
Oct. 11. Our School. Pp. 49-52.

1852.

July 31. Our Honourable Friend. Pp. 453-455.
Aug. 28. Our Vestry. Pp. 548-552.
Oct. 9. Our Bore. Pp. 73-76.
„ 30. Lying Awake. Pp. 145-148.
Nov. 27. Trading in Death. Pp. 241-245.

1853.

Feb. 5. Down with the Tide. Pp. 481-485.
June 11. The Noble Savage. Pp. 337-339.
Oct. 1. Frauds on the Fairies. Pp. 97-100.
Dec. 31. The Long Voyage. Pp. 409-412.

1854.

March 25. The late Mr. Justice Talfourd. Pp. 117-118.
Nov. 4. Our French Watering-Place. Pp. 265-270.

1855.

Feb. 3. That Other Public. Pp. 1-4.
„ 17. Prince Bull: a Fairy Tale. Pp. 49-51.
April 21. The Thousand and One Humbugs. First Paper. Pp. 265-267.

April	28.	The Thousand and One Humbugs. Second Paper. Pp. 289-292.
May	5.	The Thousand and One Humbugs. Third Paper. Pp. 313-316.
June	16.	By Rail to Parnassus. Pp. 477-480.
„	23.	Smuggled Relations. Pp. 481-483.
Aug.	4.	The Great Baby. Pp. 1-4.
„	11.	Our Commission. Pp. 25-27.
„	25.	The Worthy Magistrate. P. 73.
Sept.	29.	Out of Town. Pp. 193-196.

1856.

Jan.	26.	A Nightly Scene in London. Pp. 25-27.
Feb.	2.	The Friend of the Lions. Pp. 61-63.
May	3.	Proposals for a National Jest-Book. Pp. 361-364.*
June	14.	The Demeanour of Murderers. Pp. 505-507.
„	28.	Out of the Season. Pp. 553-556.

1857.

Aug.	1.	Curious Misprint in the *Edinburgh Review*. Pp. 97-100.

1858.

June	12.	Personal. P. 601.

1859.

Feb.	5.	Douglas Jerrold. Pp. 217-222.
May	28.	All the Year Round. [An Address.] P. 601.
„	„	A Last Household Word. P. 620.

* Original MS. in Mr. J. F. Dexter's Collection.

The following were written in collaboration with other writers :—

Serial Contributions.

1857.

Oct. 3 to 31. The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices. (With Wilkie Collins.)

Occasional Papers.

1850.

March 30. Valentine's Day at the Post-Office. (With W. H. Wills.) *

April 27. Pet Prisoners.

May 4. The Heart of Mid-London. (With W. H. Wills.) *

June 1. A Popular Delusion. (With W. H. Wills.) *

July 6. The Old Lady in Threadneedle Street. (With W. H. Wills.) *

Sept. 7 and 21. Two Chapters on Bank-Note Forgeries. (With W. H. Wills, part of second Chapter by Dickens.)

Sept. 21. Foreigners' Portraits of Englishmen.†

Nov. 16. *Household Words* and English Wills.

1851.

Feb. 1. Plate Glass. (With W. H. Wills.) *

April 5. Spitalfields. (With W. H. Wills.) *

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* Reprinted in "Old Leaves: Gathered from *Household Words*," by W. H. Wills (1860).

† Proof corrected by Dickens in the Forster Collection.

April 26. The Metropolitan Protectives. (With W. H. Wills.) *
June 7. Epsom. (With W. H. Wills.) *
Sept. 6. One Man in a Dockyard. (With R. H. Horne.) *
Dec. 6. My Uncle. (With W. H. Wills.) *

1852.

Jan. 17. A Curious Dance Round a Curious Tree. (With W. H. Wills.) *
March 20. Post-Office Money Orders. (With W. H. Wills.) *
April 24. A Plated Article. (With W. H. Wills.) *

1853.

March 19. Received, A Blank Child. (With W. H. Wills.) *
June 4. Idiots. (With W. H. Wills.) *

1854.

Jan. 21. Fire and Snow.

1855.

Feb. 10. Gaslight Fairies.

Notes on Occasional Papers.

"A Child's Dream of a Star" (1850).—In a letter to Forster, enclosing the MS., March 14th, 1850, Dickens wrote:—

"Looking over the suggested contents of number two at breakfast this morning, I felt an

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* Reprinted in "Old Leaves: Gathered from *Household Words*," by W. H. Wills (1860).

uneasy sense of there being a want of something tender, which would apply to some universal household knowledge. Coming down on the railroad the other night (always a wonderfully suggestive place to me when I am alone), I was looking at the stars, and revolving a little idea about them. Putting now these two things together, I wrote the enclosed little paper, straightway; and should like you to read it before you send it to the printers (it will not take you five minutes), and let me have a proof by return."

His sister Fanny and he (as children) used to wander at night about a churchyard near their house at Chatham, looking up at the stars; she died about two years before the "Child's Dream" was written, and the sad event re-awakened the early associations which made her memory dear to him. In 1871 the touching story was reprinted by Fields, Osgood, and Co., Boston, U.S.A. (pp. 15). The small quarto volume contained eleven illustrations by Hammatt Billings, engraved on wood by W. J. Linton. In 1886 it was again issued in a separate form (pp. 11) by White, Stokes, and Allen, printed on ivorine as a Christmas booklet, in a fancy wrapper and case, with vignette illustration.

"Whole Hogs" (1851).—A protest against the extreme views entertained

by advocates of Temperance and Vegetarianism.

"Our School" (1851).—A reminiscence of Wellington House Academy, where Dickens received part of his education, 1824-26. Mr. Owen P. Thomas, a fellow-pupil, states that "the names of course are feigned; but, allowing for slight colouring, the persons and incidents described are all true to life, and easily recognisable by any one who attended the school at the time." In the article mention is made of "a serving-man, whose name was Phil"; this oddity (Mr. Robert Langton states) was really in existence at Chatham during Dickens's boyhood there, and afterwards appeared as Phil Squod in "Bleak House."

"Trading in Death" (1852).—*A propos* of the State Funeral of the Duke of Wellington. On November 22nd, 1852, Dickens wrote to the Hon. Mrs. Watson:—

"I have written for *Household Words* of this next publication-day an article on the State funeral, showing why I consider it altogether a mistake, to be temperately but firmly objected to; which I daresay will make a good many of the admirers of such things highly indignant. It may have right and reason on its side, however, none the less."

"Frauds on the Fairies" (1853).—A

protest against George Cruikshank's "Fairy Library." On July 27th, 1853, Dickens wrote to W. H. Wills :—

"I have thought of another article to be called 'Frauds on the Fairies,' *à propos* of George Cruikshank's editing. Half playfully and half seriously, I mean to protest most strongly against alteration, for any purpose, of the beautiful little stories which are so tenderly and humanly useful to us in these times, when the world is too much with us, early and late; and then to re-write 'Cinderella' according to Total Abstinence, Peace Society, and Bloomer principles, and expressly for their propagation.

"I shall want his book of 'Hop o' my Thumb' (Forster noticed it in the last *Examiner*), and the most simple and popular version of 'Cinderella' you can get me. I shall not be able to do it until after finishing 'Bleak House,' but I shall do it the more easily for having the books by me. . . ."

This article elicited a defensive reply from the artist in Part 2 of *George Cruikshank's Magazine*, February, 1854; and it is said that Dickens's rebuke most seriously affected the sale of the "Fairy Library."

"Our French Watering-Place" (1854).—A description of Boulogne, being a companion picture to Broadstairs in "Our Watering-Place." It contains (wrote Dickens) "a faithful portrait of our

landlord there," whose name is given in the article as "M. Loyal Devasseur."

"That Other Public" (1855).—The original MS. (11 pp., octavo) realised £26 at Sotheby's in April, 1895, having been previously catalogued by a London bookseller at £10.

"The Thousand and One Humbugs" (1855).—In April, 1855, Dickens wrote to Forster: "I have rather a bright idea, I think, for *Household Words* this morning; a fine little bit of satire: an account of an Arabic MS. lately discovered very like the 'Arabian Nights'—called the Thousand and One Humbugs, with new versions of the best known stories." Forster states that this idea was abandoned, whereas the articles duly appeared on the dates given.

"The Demeanour of Murderers" (1856).—Bears upon the trial of William Palmer, the Rugeley poisoner, who was executed at Stafford for the murder of Cook in November, 1855.

"Curious Misprint in the *Edinburgh Review*" (1857).—A retort-courteous upon a trenchant criticism of "Little Dorrit." The misprint here alluded to is the name of Mr. Rowland Hill. In a letter to Macready, Dickens wrote:—

"I hope you have seen my tussle with the *Edinburgh*. I saw the chance last Friday week,

as I was going down to read the 'Carol' in St. Martin's Hall. Instantly turned to, then and there, and wrote half the article, flew out of bed early next morning, and finished it by noon. Went down to Gallery of Illustration (we acted that night), did the day's business, corrected the proofs in Polar costume in dressing-room, broke up two numbers of *Household Words* to get it out directly, played in 'Frozen Deep' and 'Uncle John,' presided at supper of company, made no end of speeches, went home and gave in completely for four hours, then got sound asleep, and next day was as fresh as you used to be in the far-off days of your lusty youth."

"Personal" (1858).—This is the famous statement respecting the Novelist's separation from his wife,—an indignant protest against an anonymous libel which implicated others as well as himself. Forster considered its publication as most injudicious, and held that Dickens had altogether exaggerated the public importance of the rumour as well as the extent of its circulation. He agreed to suppress the statement if a certain distinguished man whom he named should disapprove of his intention; unhappily, the Novelist's views were endorsed, and the protest duly appeared.*

* It is believed that the only instance of Dickens suppressing any of his MSS. was in the case of an article intended for *Household Words* on "The Comédie Française," which was considered likely to offend his friend M. Regnier.

Notes on Collaborated Papers.

"The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices" (1857).—Written conjointly with Wilkie Collins. To the first of these five chapters Dickens contributed all up to the top of the second column of p. 316; to the second, all up to the white line in the second column of p. 340; to the third, all except the reflections of Mr. Idle (pp. 363-365); and the whole of the fourth part. All the rest was by Wilkie Collins. This is according to Forster, but it must be admitted that portions of the fifth chapter, describing Doncaster and the Races, are very Dickensian. These papers were the result of a tour made by the two novelists, concerning which some whimsical experiences are narrated in Dickens's correspondence of that date, but which are not recorded in the published account.

The notion of the proposed trip was thus broached by Dickens in a letter to Wilkie Collins, dated August 29th, 1857:—

"My dear Collins,—Partly in the grim despair and restlessness of this subsidence from excitement,* and partly for the sake of *Household*

* Caused by readings and theatrical performances in the Provinces, in aid of the Douglas Jerrold fund.

Words, I want to cast about whether you and I can go anywhere—take any tour—see anything—whereon we could write something together. Have you any idea tending to any place in the world? Will you rattle your head and see if there is any pebble in it which we could wander away and play at marbles with? We want something for *Household Words*, and I want to escape from myself. For, when I *do* start up and stare myself seedily in the face, as happens to be my case at present, my blankness is inconceivable—indescribable—my misery amazing. I shall be in town on Monday. Shall we talk then? Shall we talk at Gad's Hill? *What* shall we do? As I close this I am on my way back by train.

"Ever faithfully
"C. D."

The first intimation Forster received of the trip was about the same time in the following letter:—

"I have arranged with Collins that he and I will start next Monday on a ten or twelve days' expedition to out-of-the-way places, to do (in inns and coast corners) a little tour in search of an article and in avoidance of railroads. I must get a good name for it, and I propose it in five articles, one for the beginning of every number in the October part."

Portions of the "Lazy Tour" were reprinted for the proprietor of the inn where the two novelists stayed. It appeared as a pamphlet of seven pages (in an illustrated wrapper), entitled "Sly's,

King's Arms Hotel, Lancaster," and contained engravings of the entrance-hall and ancient staircase in the hotel. In the prefatory Note the reader is reminded of "the remarkable story of the Bridal Chamber," which constitutes the fourth chapter of the "Lazy Tour," and which forms the subject of these extracts. Until a few years ago there existed at the King's Arms, Lancaster, a famous bed of black oak in the room known as the "Bridal Chamber," connected with which there is a romantic legend. Doubtless, Dickens had heard of this, and, when resuscitating it for *Household Words*, threw around it a halo of his wondrous fancy. It is said that a piece of bride-cake is still served out to each guest after dinner at the inn (now a modern building), in memory of the legendary bride.

In 1890 Chapman and Hall reprinted "The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices" for the first time (one volume, demy octavo), in conjunction with "No Thoroughfare" and "The Perils of Certain English Prisoners," illustrated by Arthur Layard.

"Valentine's Day at the Post-Office" (1850).—Written conjointly with W. H. Wills. In a letter (dated from Brighton, March 12th, 1850) to his coadjutor,

Dickens remarked: "I have made a correction or two in my part of the post-office article." This is satisfactory evidence of collaboration.

All the Year Round (1859-1869).

In *All the Year Round* the plan was adopted of giving the names of the writers of the principal serial stories, but the individual papers continued to be published anonymously.

As Dickens began with "Sketches by Boz," so he finished his literary career with similar brief papers in *All the Year Round*, upon which he bestowed the general title of "The Uncommercial Traveller." Forster tells us that "of all the societies, charitable or self-assisting, which his tact and eloquence in the chair so often helped, none had interested him by the character of its service to its members and the perfection of its management so much as that of the Commercial Travellers." This probably accounts for his adoption of such a title for his sketches in *All the Year Round*, in which he makes many allusions to memories of his early days and of well-remembered places. On their first appearance the whole series of articles went by the general designation

of "The Uncommercial Traveller"; but when reprinted in volume form each paper had a separate title given to it for the convenience of reference.

I have fortunately been enabled to examine a complete "office" set of *All the Year Round*, in which each article has appended the name of the author, written by a member of the printing staff, so that any doubt that may have arisen in respect of authorship has thus been satisfactorily disposed of. The following list therefore represents a complete catalogue of Dickens's contributions:—

ALL THE YEAR ROUND.

Serial Stories.

1859.

April 30 to Nov. 26. A Tale of Two Cities.*

1860.

Aug. 4 to 11. Hunted Down. A Story in Two Portions.

1860-61.

Dec. 1, 1860, to Aug. 3, 1861. Great Expectations.

1868.

Jan. 25, Feb. 8, March 14, April 4. Holiday Romance. In Four Parts.

Feb. 1, 15, 29. George Silverman's Explanation.

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* Original MS. in the Forster Collection.

Occasional Papers.

1859.

April 30. The Poor Man and His Beer. Pp. 13-16.
Sept. 24. Five New Points of Criminal Law. P. 517.
Dec. 24. Leigh Hunt. A Remonstrance. Pp. 206-208.
„ 31. The Tattlesnivel Bleater. Pp. 226-229.

1860.

Jan. 28. The Uncommercial Traveller. [First Series]* :—
(1) His General Line of Business. The Shipwreck. Pp. 321-326.
Feb. 18. (2) Wapping Workhouse. Pp. 392-396.
„ 25. (3) Two Views of a Cheap Theatre. Pp. 416-421.
March 10. (4) Poor Mercantile Jack. Pp. 462-466.
„ 24. (5) Refreshments for Travellers. Pp. 512-516.
April 7. (6) Travelling Abroad. Pp. 557-562.
„ 21. (7) The Great Tasmania's Cargo. Pp. 37-40.
May 5. (8) City of London Churches. Pp. 85-89.
„ 26. (9) Shy Neighbourhoods. Pp. 155-159.
June 16. (10) Tramps. Pp. 230-234.

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* These Sketches first appeared merely under this general title, but when reprinted in book form (1861) a distinctive designation was given to each Sketch.

June 30. (11) Dullborough Town. Pp. 274-278.
July 21. (12) Night Walks. Pp. 348-352.
Aug. 18. (13) Chambers. Pp. 452-456.
Sept. 8. (14) Nurses' Stories. Pp. 517-521.
" 29. (15) Arcadian London. Pp. 588-591.
Oct. 13. (16) The Italian Prisoner. Pp. 13-17.

1862.

March 1. The Young Man from the Country. Pp. 540-542.
" 8. An Enlightened Clergyman. P. 558.

1863.

March 21. Rather a Strong Dose. Pp. 84-87.
April 4. The Martyr Medium. Pp. 133-136.
May 2. The Uncommercial Traveller. [Second Series] * :—
(1) The Calais Night Mail. Pp. 229-233.
" 16. (2) Some Recollections of Mortality. Pp. 276-280.
June 6. (3) Birthday Celebrations. Pp. 348-352.
" 20. (4) The Short-Timers. Pp. 397-401.
July 4. (5) Bound for the Great Salt Lake. Pp. 444-449.
" 18. (6) The City of the Absent. Pp. 493-496.
Aug. 1. (7) An old Stage-Coaching House. Pp. 540-543.
" 15. (8) The Boiled Beef of New England. Pp. 588-591.

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* As in the case of the First Series, these Sketches bore no distinctive title until reprinted in book form. All except No. 4 were thus issued in 1868, in addition to those in the First Series.

Aug. 29. (9) Chatham Dockyard. Pp. 12-16.
Sept. 12. (10) In the French-Flemish Country. Pp. 61-65.
„ 26. (11) Medicine Men of Civilisation. Pp. 108-111.
Oct. 24. (12) Titbull's Almshouses. Pp. 205-210.
Dec. 26. Note (signed). P. 419.

1867.

June 1. The late Mr. Stanfield. P. 537.

1868.

June 6. A Debt of Honour. P. 610.
Sept. 19 and 26. New Series of *All the Year Round*. Pp. 337, 361. (Editorial announcement, signed. Reprinted Nov. 28. P. 596.)
Oct. 10. The Ruffian. By the Uncommercial Traveller. Pp. 421-424.
Dec. 5. To the Public. P. 1. (Editorial paragraph, signed.)
„ „ New Uncommercial Samples *:—
(1) Aboard Ship. Pp. 12-17.
„ 19. (2) A Small Star in the East. Pp. 61-66.

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* This Series, together with the Two Series of "The Uncommercial Traveller" and the paper entitled "The Ruffian," were first reprinted in the Illustrated Library Edition (Chapman and Hall, 1875), with the exception, however, of "A Fly-leaf in a Life," which is not included in any of the Collected Editions.

1869.

Jan. 2. New Uncommercial Samples (continued):—
„ (3) A Little Dinner in an Hour. Pp 108-111.
„ 16. (4) Mr. Barlow. Pp. 156-159.
Feb. 13. A Slight Question of Fact. P. 253.
„ 27. New Uncommercial Samples (continued):—
(5) On an Amateur Beat. Pp. 300-303.
May 22. (6) A Fly-leaf in a Life. Pp. 589-591.
June 5. (7) A Plea for Total Abstinence. Pp. 13-15.
July 24. Landor's Life. Pp. 181-185.

The following were written in collaboration with other writers:—

1859.

April 30. Occasional Register. Wanted—Found—Missing. (Of these paragraphs Dickens contributed the first six, the ninth, tenth, and fifteenth.)
May 7. Occasional Register. Wanted—Found—Missing. (Of these paragraphs Dickens contributed the second, fifth, seventh, eighth, and twelfth.)

1860.

Jan. 21. Without a Name (opening paragraph).

1864.

Dec. 24. The Spirit of Nelson (opening paragraph).

1866.

May 19. Our Suburban Residence. Private Character (opening paragraph).

1868.

April 10. Robert Keeley.

Notes on Occasional Papers.

"The Poor Man and his Beer" (1859).—An account of a working-men's club (still flourishing) at Rothamsted, near St. Albans, established by Mr. (now Sir) J. B. Lawes, the eminent agriculturist.* This institution enabled the agricultural labourers of the parish to have their pipes and beer independent of the public-house, and the description of it was the occupation of a drive between Rothamsted and London (twenty-five miles), the Novelist refusing Mr. Lawes's offer of a bed, saying that he could arrange his ideas on the journey. The "Friar Bacon" in the article was meant for Mr. Lawes; "Philosewers" was the name bestowed upon the Author's brother-in-law, Mr. Henry Austin, who accompanied Dickens (here designated the "Dreary one") on the expedition, in allusion to his (Mr. Austin's) connection

* Incorrectly referred to by Forster as the Rev. J. B. Lawes.

with a sanitary commission. The "quaint old house" so vividly portrayed faithfully depicts Sir John Lawes's picturesque Tudor mansion at Rothamsted. The authorship of some verses, entitled "The Blacksmith," in the same number, has been attributed to Dickens; but they really formed part of a series of "Trade Songs," composed by Bryan W. Procter ("Barry Cornwall").

"Arcadian London" (1860).—In 1861 this sketch was reproduced in raised type for the use of the blind.

"Dullborough Town" (1860).—The city of Rochester is thinly disguised under this title.

"The Italian Prisoner" (1860).—The "generous and gentle English nobleman" who saved the life of Giovanni Carlavero, the Italian political prisoner, and to whom the latter sent (by favour of Charles Dickens) a gigantic demijohn of wine as an expression of gratitude for his delivery from bondage, is said to have been Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, brother of the first Marquis of Bute. He was in the House of Commons for many years, and particularly devoted himself to the interests of exiled Poles, who had found an asylum in England. Of him Dickens said: "He is dead in these days when

I relate the story, and exiles have lost their best British friend."

"An Enlightened Clergyman" (1862).—Refers to a public reading of "The Bloomsbury Christening" from "Sketches by Boz," and to certain objections raised by the Rev. T. S. Coles, of Stowmarket Vicarage.

"Rather a Strong Dose" and "The Martyr Medium" (1863).—Refer to Spiritualism and D. D. Home, the Spirit Medium.

"Aboard Ship" (1868).—It was after Dickens's return from America in 1868 that he began the series of papers called "New Uncommercial Samples." They commenced on December 5th of that year with an article entitled "Aboard Ship," opening with a graphic account of his homeward voyage. In a letter to Mrs. James T. Fields, dated December 16th, he wrote:—

"I trust, my dear Eugenius, that you have recognised yourself in a certain Uncommercial, and also some small reference to a name rather dear to you?"

The matter alluded to will be found in the third paragraph.

"A Small Star in the East" (1868).—In the above letter Dickens also directs attention to his second "Sample," descrip-

tive of a visit to the homes of labourers in East London :—

"As an instance of how strangely something comic springs up in the midst of the direst misery, look to a succeeding Uncommercial, called 'A Small Star in the East.' . . . I have described, *with exactness*, the poor places into which I went, and how the people behaved, and what they said. I was wretched, looking on; and yet the boiler-maker and the poor man with the legs filled me with a sense of drollery not to be kept down by any pressure."

Hardly any of the "Uncommercial" papers are devoid of personal interest or illustration, and one may discover in them the special kind of remedy resorted to by their Author for those attacks of insomnia which so often distressed him at this time. He used sometimes to rise from his bed directly after lying down, and would go out and come home tired at sunrise. "My last special feat," he wrote, "was turning out of bed at two, after a hard day, pedestrian and otherwise, and walking thirty miles into the country to breakfast." Many of his experiences and impressions of these nightly perambulations are naturally embodied in these articles.

The First Series of "The Uncommercial Traveller," consisting of seventeen papers,

were published in one volume (crown octavo, lilac-coloured cloth, price 6*s.*), by Chapman and Hall in 1861, with a Preface dated "December, 1860" (pp. 264). It passed through three editions, the present value of the first, if in a fine state, being £3. The first Cheap Edition, with a woodcut frontispiece by G. J. Pinwell, was issued by the same publishers in 1865, this having eleven additional papers, the last being numbered 18 instead of 28, an error that was repeated in two or three subsequent editions. The Illustrated Library Edition, 1875 (same publishers), contained eight new papers, making thirty-six in all, with eight illustrations by G. J. Pinwell. One, entitled "A Fly-leaf in a Life," was, for some unrecorded reason, omitted from the collected editions. In 1896 Messrs. Macmillan and Co. published in New York an edition of Reprinted Pieces, edited by Charles Dickens the younger, which contains several additional papers. In 1898 Mr. George Redway published a volume entitled "To be Read at Dusk," consisting of a collection of sketches, stories, and essays by Dickens, reprinted for the first time from *Household Words*, *All the Year Round*, and other serials.

By a codicil in his will Dickens

transferred the property of *All the Year Round* to his eldest son, and formally resigned the editorship. Accordingly, in the issue bearing date June 25th, 1870—*i.e.*, sixteen days after the Novelist's death *—we find in a "Personal" announcement, signed "Charles Dickens, Junior," that it was his father's wish he "should succeed him in the management of the Journal so long associated with his name," and a further intimation that the same authors would continue to contribute to, and the same spirit pervade, its pages as hitherto. From this time until December 2nd, 1871, the abbreviated word "Jun." was added to the line "Conducted by Charles Dickens," when, at the latter date, this word was dispensed with.

Charles Dickens the younger subsequently established a new periodical with the old name of *Household Words*, but differing in character from the famous original. After April, 1895, *All the Year Round* was incorporated with this publication, which, curiously enough, is the reverse of what happened when, in 1859, *Household Words* was merged into its

* No mention was made in the journal of this sad event until this date, probably because the two intervening numbers had already been stereotyped.

successor. The demise of Mr. Charles Dickens the younger in the early autumn of 1896 necessitated a change in the literary management of *Household Words*, the covers of the September and subsequent numbers bearing the altered legend, "Founded by Charles Dickens."

The Extra Christmas Numbers of *Household Words* (1850-1858).

For these Yuletide publications Dickens sought assistance in collaboration, although he always had in view the desirability that his own contributions should express and explain themselves when republished apart from their environment. In each series of the brief tales which made their appearance collectively every December, those furnished by the Novelist shone conspicuously, many of them being considered among his very best descriptive character-sketches —indeed, nothing is "more astonishing in them" (as Professor Ward remarks) "than his continual freshness."

Mr. Percy Fitzgerald informs us that "the time when 'the Christmas Number' had to be got ready was always one of pleasant expectancy and alacrity. It was an object for all to have a seat in 'a

vehicle' which travelled every road, and reached the houses of a quarter of a million persons. With his usual conscientious feeling of duty to the public, Dickens laboured hard, first, to secure a good and telling idea; and second, to work it out on the small but effective scale with which he had latterly grown unfamiliar, owing to his habit of dealing with large canvases."

Each of the Extra Christmas Numbers* of *Household Words* contains matter equal to one number and a-half, and was published at threepence; each of those in *All the Year Round* equalled two numbers, the price being fourpence. These special issues had no wrappers until 1863, when a blue paper cover was added, a feature that was continued in the succeeding numbers. It is curious that no general title was bestowed upon either collection of tales in respect to the first two numbers. The following are Dickens's contributions to the *Household Words* annuals :—

1850.

"A Christmas Tree."—This was the

* So called, to distinguish it from the ordinary weekly issues published at Christmas time.

opening story of the initial Christmas Number, and, like the remaining eight tales constituting the series, was essentially seasonable in character.

1851.

"What Christmas is as we Grow Older."—The number for this year also began with Dickens's contribution, which was thus entitled.

1852.

"A Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire."

Of this series of ten short tales, two were furnished by Dickens—*viz.*, "The Poor Relation's Story" and "The Child's Story." Writing to another contributor, the Rev. James White, he said: "I propose to give the number some fireside name, and to make it consist entirely of short stories supposed to be told by a family sitting round the fire. *I don't care about their referring to Christmas at all;* nor do I design to connect them together otherwise than by their names." This sufficiently explains the somewhat strange fact that none of these brief narratives contains the usual Christmas allusions.

1853.

"Another Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire."

Of the nine tales the Novelist was responsible for two—*viz.*, "The Schoolboy's Story" and "Nobody's Story." The former (originally proposed for the first "Round of Stories") was written in Italy, and it is interesting to learn that the name of the hero, Old Cheeseman, was that of one of Dickens's schoolfellows at Chatham.

1854.

"The Seven Poor Travellers."

Dickens's share of this Christmas Number contains a graphic description of the celebrated Charity at Rochester, founded in the sixteenth century by Richard Watts (a Rochester celebrity, who represented that ancient city in Parliament from 1563 to 1571) for "Six Poor Travellers, who, not being Rogues or Proctors,* may receive gratis for one

* The meaning of the word "proctor" was set at rest by the late Sir Francis Palgrave. It refers to those who had letters of procuration from some hospital or lazar-house to beg on behalf of the inmates. These men, who were

Night, Lodging, Entertainment, and Fourpence each." Dickens, accompanied by Mark Lemon, visited this quaint Institution on May 11th, 1854, in order to learn something of the administration of Richard Watts's bequest, with a view, doubtless, of dealing with the subject in this Christmas Number, to which he contributed a couple of chapters—*viz.*, "The First [Poor Traveller]" and "The Road." The former opens with an account of the Charity, where it is contended that the recipients were not so courteously treated as Richard Watts intended by his will. The Author then proceeds to relate the pathetic story of Richard Doubledick, concerning which he wrote to his friend M. de Cerjat (January 3rd, 1855), when sending him a copy of the number: "The first ten pages or so—all under the head of 'The First Poor Traveller'—are written by me, and I hope you will find, in the story of the soldier which they contain, something that may move you a little.

exempted from the laws against sturdy beggars, seem generally to have borne a bad character, and are several times referred to in the literature of the sixteenth century. The proctor of Doctors' Commons, of whom we read in "David Copperfield," was "a sort of monkish attorney," and must not therefore be confounded with the begging fraternity above alluded to.

It moved me *not* a little in the writing, and I believe has touched a vast number of people." In a letter to the late Mr. Arthur Ryland, formerly Mayor of Birmingham, he wrote: "The idea of that little story obtained such strong possession of me when it came into my head, that it cost me more time and tears than most people would consider likely." *

The Novelist's account of the treat to the Six Poor Travellers (the visitor himself making the Seventh) is, of course, wholly imaginary, although many still believe that everything actually occurred as related.† It is pleasant, however, to learn that within very recent years a lady in Rochester, doubtless inspired by Dickens's romance, gave a Christmas

* *Vide* "A Week's Tramp in Dickens-Land,' by W. R. Hughes, F.L.S. (1891).

† Mr. H. W. Lucy seems to have been under this impression. His "Faces and Places" (1892) contains a chapter entitled "Christmas Eve at Watts's," showing how the author availed himself of the privilege afforded by this Charity by representing himself as a "paper-stainer" on his way to London, with only three-halfpence in his pocket. The author, after vividly depicting the place, professes surprise on being told by the matron that Dickens did not visit the institution at Christmas, and that there had never been any of those festivities which the Novelist has so graphically described.

feast to the Poor Travellers who sought the shelter of Watts's establishment at this season, and it is recorded that those who, on Christmas Eve, 1888, and their successors on Christmas night, fore-gathered within the quaint two-storied structure still standing in the High Street of Rochester, found themselves in a position similar to that of the fictitious Poor Travellers; for not only did the ordinary supper of the house swell into a hot dinner of roast beef and plum pudding, washed down with good beer, but for each man there was a seasonable card, a pair of cuffs, a full tobacco-pouch, a pipe, a box of lights, and a sixpenny-piece!

In 1884 the Charity Commissioners drew up a scheme by which they proposed to divert the funds of this ancient charity, a suggestion that was received in Rochester with warm opposition. Happily, it has not been carried into effect, for it would have meant the total extinction of the Poor Travellers' refuge, and of a Charity the direct personal touch of which is a valuable factor in it, and which has certainly been of lasting service to many who have availed themselves of it.

1855.

"The Holly-Tree Inn."

"The Guest," "The Boots," and "The Bill" constituted Dickens's share of the seven stories in this number. The remainder was written by Wilkie Collins, to whom Dickens said, in a letter dated from Paris, December 12th, 1855 :—

"The botheration of that No. has been prodigious. The general matter was so disappointing, and so impossible to be fitted together or got into the frame, that after I had done the Guest and the Bill, and thought myself free for a little Dorrit again, I had to go back once more (feeling the thing too weak), and do the Boots. Look at said Boots; because I think it's an odd idea, and gets something of the effect of a Fairy Story out of the most unlikely materials."

In "The Boots" was related, with a charming naturalness and spirit, the elopement of two little children of the mature ages of eight and seven respectively, who were determined to get married at Gretna Green. That the story did not exceed the bounds of probability is proved by the romantic elopement of two children, aged seven and four respectively, which actually took place in Flintshire in 1884

The young gentleman dressed at half-past three and left his home, while the young lady joined him afterwards, and they drove together to Wrexham, whence they proceeded to Liverpool. The parents of the young lovers, obtaining a clue as to their whereabouts, hurriedly followed them, and, after some exhortation and remonstrance, succeeded in inducing them to return home.

1856.

"The Wreck of the Golden Mary."

This number was planned by Dickens and Wilkie Collins in Paris during the winter of 1855-56. It contains only three chapters, the first of which, entitled "The Wreck," was written by Dickens, and the remainder by Collins. The second chapter includes some verses by Dickens, "A Child's Hymn," which made so favourable an impression upon a clergyman, the Rev. R. H. Davies, that he was induced to express his gratitude to the Author for having thus conveyed to his innumerable readers such a true religious sentiment.

In writing to the Rev. James White, Dickens said: "The number has done *Household Words* great service, and has

decidedly told upon its circulation." As a matter of fact, it reached the unprecedented sale of a hundred thousand copies. Mr. Robert Langton states that a neighbour of Dickens at Chatham, George Stroughill, had a sister named Lucy, who was a special favourite and little sweetheart of the then youthful Charles. The little girl's head being adorned with beautiful golden locks, it seems probable that she was the prototype of "Golden Lucy" in the story.

1857.

"THE PERILS OF CERTAIN ENGLISH PRISONERS, AND THEIR TREASURE IN WOMEN, CHILDREN, SILVER, AND JEWELS."

It appears that this simple narrative, in three chapters, was suggested by the Cawnpore and Lucknow tragedies, then engrossing public attention. The first and third instalments, entitled "The Island of Silver-Store" and "The Rafts on the River," were written by Dickens, and the rest by Wilkie Collins. The original MS. of the entire story is crowded with notes and corrections by both writers. The plot was sketched by Wilkie Collins, aided by hints and suggestions from

Dickens, who composed the title-page. At the sale of Wilkie Collins's MSS. (Sotheby's, June 18th, 1890) this desirable autograph realised £200. In the first leaf is inserted the following letter :—

"Tavistock House,

"*Saturday, Sixth February,* 1858.

"My Dear Wilkie,

"Thinking it may one day be interesting to you—say, when you are weak in both feet, and when I and Doncaster are quiet and the great race is over—to possess this little Memorial of our joint Christmas work, I have had it put together for you, and now send it on its coming home from the Binder.

"Faithfully Yours,

"Charles Dickens."

1858.

"A House to Let."

A series of six stories, of which the third, entitled "Going into Society," was written by Dickens. The notion was first conceived by the Novelist in September, 1858, when he wrote to Wilkie Collins :—

"Do you see your way to making a Christmas number of this idea that I am going very briefly to hint? Some disappointed person, man or woman, prematurely disgusted with the world, for some reason or no reason (the person should be young, I think) retires to an old lonely house,

or an old lonely mill, or anything you like, with one attendant, resolved to shut out the world and hold no communion with it. The one attendant sees the absurdity of the idea, pretends to humour it, but really thus to slaughter it. Everything that happens, everybody that comes near, every breath of human interest that floats into the old place from the village, or the heath, or the four cross-roads near which it stands, and from which belated travellers stray into it, shows beyond mistake that you can't shut out the world; that you are in it, to be of it; that you get into a false position the moment you try to sever yourself from it; and that you must mingle with it and make the best of it, and make the best of yourself in the bargain. If we could plot out a way of doing this together, I would not be afraid to take any part. If we could not, could we plot out a way of doing it, and taking in other stories by other hands? If we could not do either (but I think we could), shall we fall back upon a round of stories again?"

The Extra Christmas Numbers of *All The Year Round* (1859-1867).

"The Haunted House."

It has been said that the idea of this number may have been suggested by a work, published a few months previously, entitled "A Night in a Haunted House: a Tale of Facts," by the author of "Karan," who dedicated his book to Charles Dickens. William Howitt was

much interested in the supernatural, and when Dickens expressed to him his own doubts on the subject, he sent a letter to one of the weekly papers, stating that the Novelist had requested him to point out some house supposed to be haunted. "I named to him two," observed Howitt, "that at Cheshunt, formerly inhabited by the Chapmans, and one at Wellington, near Newcastle. Never seen former, but had the latter." Thereupon Dickens, accompanied by Wilkie Collins, W. H. Wills, and John Hollingshead, went to Cheshunt, visited the domicile said to be favoured by inhabitants of the spirit world, and communicated to Howitt the fact that it had been greatly enlarged, commanded a high rent, "and is no more disturbed than this house of mine."

To this number Dickens contributed three of the eight chapters of which it consists—*viz.*, "The Mortals in the House," "The Ghost in Master B.'s Room," and "The Ghost in the Corner Room." He was also responsible for the opening paragraphs of all the remaining chapters except "The Ghost in the Picture-Room," which is in rhyme. Forster points out that the second contribution incidentally mentions a true occurrence

in the Author's boyhood; the particular passage referred to makes mention of the sale of his own little bed and other domestic items during a time of dire distress, which items went for a mere song. "So I heard mentioned, and I wondered what song, and thought what a dismal song it must have been to sing!" The prototype of Mr. Undery, in the first chapter, was his friend and solicitor Mr. Fred Ouvry, who is referred to as being able to play whist "better than the whole Law List, from the red cover at the beginning to the red cover at the end."

That Dickens often experienced much difficulty regarding these Christmas Numbers, in putting within a framework by himself several fictions by separate writers, is indicated by the following letter, printed by Forster, in which special allusion is made to "The Haunted House." "As yet," he wrote on November 25th, 1859, "not a story has come to me in the least belonging to the idea (the simplest in the world; which I myself described in writing, in the most elaborate manner); and every one of them turns, by a strange fatality, on a criminal trial!" It had all to be set right by him.

1860.

"A Message from the Sea."

This number comprises a single story in five chapters, of which the greater portion was written by Dickens; that is to say, he contributed nearly all the first chapter, "The Village," and the whole of the second and the last chapters, "The Money" and "The Restitution," while the intervening chapters contain insertions by him. Wilkie Collins was responsible for a share of Chapter I., the whole of Chapter IV., and certain parts of "The Club Night"—not the stories introduced.*

The scene is laid at Clovelly, Dickens and Wilkie Collins making a journey together in Devonshire and Cornwall in November, 1860, for the purposes of this story. One of the characters depicted, Captain Jorgan, was drawn from an American seaman, Captain Morgan, to whom Dickens was very partial, and in

* In an "office" set of *All the Year Round* I find that the following portions of Chapter III.—"The Club Night"—are acknowledged as having been written by Dickens: Detached section of second column on p. 19; detached portions immediately preceding and succeeding verses (by R. Buchanan) on pp. 24 and 25 respectively; and conclusion of chapter (nearly two columns) pp. 30-31.

a letter addressed to that gentleman he expressed a hope that he had seen this Christmas Number, and added: "Here and there, in the description of the sea-going hero, I have given a touch or two of remembrance of Somebody you know; very heartily desiring that thousands of people may have some faint reflection of the pleasure I have for many years derived from the contemplation of a most amiable nature and most remarkable man."

"A Message from the Sea" contained one woodcut—the only illustration that appeared in *All the Year Round*. The story was dramatised under its original title, and published by G. Holsworth, Wellington Street, Strand, in 1861. This was probably the play which the manager of the Britannia Theatre, Hoxton, announced for dramatic representation, and to which Dickens (in a letter to *The Times*, January 12th, 1861) objected for certain substantial reasons.

1861.

"Tom Tiddler's Ground."

To this number Dickens contributed three of the seven chapters—*viz.*, I. "Picking up Soot and Cinders"; VI.

"Picking up Miss Kimmeens"; VII. "Picking up the Tinker."

In the summer of 1861 Dickens passed a week with Lord Lytton at Knebworth, and there met Mr. (afterwards Sir) Arthur Helps, with whom and Lord Orford he visited a remarkable personage named James Lucas, locally known as "the Hertfordshire Hermit." This strange creature, who was a well-educated man, the son of a prosperous West India merchant, lived under peculiar circumstances at Redcoats Green, near Stevenage, and his various eccentricities are summarised in the "Dictionary of National Biography." Dickens immortalised him as Mr. Mopes in "Tom Tiddler's Ground," at which Lucas was much incensed. The "Hermit" died of apoplexy in 1874, and was buried in Hackney churchyard. The Hertfordshire village so humorously portrayed in the first chapter is believed to be Stevenage.

1862.

"Somebody's Luggage."

Writing to Forster regarding this number, Dickens said: "I have been at work with such a will that I have done the opening and conclusion of the Christmas

number. They are done in the character of a waiter, and I think are exceedingly droll. The thread on which the stories are to hang, is spun by this waiter, and is, purposely, very slight; but has, I fancy, a ridiculously comical and unexpected end. The waiter's account of himself includes (I hope) everything you know about waiters, presented humorously." This refers to his own share of the Christmas story, "Somebody's Luggage," to which he contributed the following chapters: I. "His Leaving It Till Called For"; II. "His Boots"; VII. "His Brown-Paper Parcel"; X. "His Wonderful End." It is surmised that the Novelist was also responsible for a portion of the third chapter, entitled "His Umbrella."

In a letter to Wilkie Collins, dated October 4th, 1862, Dickens gave a list of proposed titles for chapters, this being slightly altered in the published version. The chapter on "His Black Bag" was an after-thought; "His Writing-Desk" was originally written simply "His Desk"; "His Hat-Box" was changed from "His Collar-Box"; while "His Brown-Paper Parcel" first appeared in the plural. The original MS. of "His Brown-Paper Parcel," comprising eleven closely-written octavo

pages, characteristically corrected and altered by erasions, additions, etc., is now in America.

Writing from Paris of what he was himself responsible for in the articles left "by Somebody with his wonderful Waiter," Dickens stated to Forster that in one of them he had made the tale a *camera obscura* of French places and styles of people, having founded it on something he had noticed in a French soldier. This was the tale of Little Bebelle, which had a small French corporal for its hero.

1863.

"Mrs. Lirriper's Lodgings."

"The triumph of Dickens's achievements in these days," says Forster, "was Mrs. Lirriper. She took her place at once among people known to everybody; and all the world talked of Major Jemmy Jackman and his friend the poor elderly lodging-house keeper of the Strand, with her miserable cares, and rivalries and worries, as if they had both been as long in London and as well known as Norfolk Street itself. A dozen volumes could not have told more than those dozen pages did." The number consists of seven chapters, of which Dickens wrote two—

viz., "How Mrs. Lirriper carried on the Business" and "How the Parlours added a few Words." This was the first Christmas Number issued with a wrapper.

1864.

"Mrs. Lirriper's Legacy."

So great was the interest excited by his last Christmas Number that Dickens decided to give a sequel, which was similarly successful. To this he contributed the opening and concluding chapters—*viz.*, "Mrs. Lirriper relates how she went on, and went over," and "Mrs. Lirriper relates how Jemmy topped up." In "Mrs. Lirriper's Legacy" there was no falling off in the fun and laughter.

À propos of the Lirriper stories, Mr. Percy Fitzgerald recollects the Novelist lamenting that in them he had wasted much that would have been valuable for a novel.

1865.

"Doctor Marigold's Prescriptions."

Dickens had scarcely concluded "Our Mutual Friend" when he attacked his Christmas Number for 1865. Becoming somewhat wearied with a labour of invention which the novel involved, and

feeling generally overworked, he diverted his thoughts into this new channel, when "suddenly, the little character that you will see," he informed Forster, "and all belonging to it, came flashing up in the most cheerful manner, and I had only to look on and leisurely describe it." This was "Doctor Marigold's Prescriptions," one of the most pleasing of all his popular annuals, and an excellent example of the Novelist's humour and pathos. "If people at large understand a Cheap Jack," he remarked to his biographer, "my part of the Christmas number will do well. It is wonderfully like the real thing, of course a little refined and humoured." Again he said: "I do hope that in the beginning and end of this Christmas number you will find something that will strike you as being fresh, forcible, and full of spirits."

To this number he contributed three out of eight chapters: I. "To be Taken Immediately"; VI. "To be Taken with a Grain of Salt" (*i.e.*, the portion describing the trial for murder); VII. "To be Taken for Life." He found ample material for his character-sketches of Dr. Marigold, Chops the Dwarf, and other similar personages in the story, in the neighbourhood of Gad's Hill, especially

on the Dover road, where may invariably be seen numerous travelling caravans and their inmates wending their way.

Presumably this Christmas Number was published in November, 1865, as Forster states that Dickens then informed him that the sale had gone up, in the first week, to two hundred and fifty thousand; but there is a little inconsistency here, for, in a letter to Miss Mary Boyle, written several weeks later, the Novelist said: "'Dr. Marigold' has just now accomplished his two hundred thousand!"

1866.

"Mugby Junction."

In this number the names of the authors were printed for the first time. Dickens himself contributed the first four papers—*viz.*, "Barbox Brothers" (in three chapters); "Barbox Brothers & Co."; "Main Line. The Boy at Mugby"; "No. 1 Branch Line. The Signal-Man." Referring to its great success, Dickens wrote to Macready (December 28th, 1866): "'Mugby Junction' turned, yesterday afternoon, the extraordinary number of two hundred and fifty thousand!"

Mr. George Dolby tells us that this

Christmas Number originated in a circumstance that happened during one of Dickens's journeys in connection with his reading tours. On arriving at Rugby the Novelist entered the refreshment-room, where the appurtenances "were wretched and the manners of the woman in charge deplorable." When Dickens extended his hand for sugar and milk for his coffee the woman snatched them away, saying that he should not have them until the coffee was paid for. A page in buttons was so amused at the incident that he burst out into an uncontrollable fit of laughter, and this self-same youth subsequently appeared as "The Boy at Mugby." The prototype of "Lamps" was a lamp-foreman at Tilbury railway-terminus, named Chipperfield, who proudly averred that the Novelist not only had many conversations with him, but gave him a copy of the Christmas Number in which he is enshrined. Chipperfield died in August, 1899, in his eighty-third year.

The sale of the number was enormous both in England and America, over seventy thousand copies being disposed of in the latter country within a fortnight after the day of publication.

1867.

"No Thoroughfare."

It has been surmised that Dickens took the title of this, his last Christmas story, from the notice-boards which were put up at points where private roads or foot-paths abut on public roads away from Cobham Park, not far from his Gad's Hill residence.* The story, which consists of an Overture and Four Acts, was composed by Dickens and Wilkie Collins, each contributing an equal part. When the time was almost ripe for this number, Dickens wrote to his coadjutor (May 1st, 1867):—

"Of course I know nothing of your arrangements when I ask you the following question:

"Would you like to do the next Christmas No. with me—we two alone, each taking half? Of course I assume that the money question is satisfactorily disposed of between you and Wills. Equally, of course, I suppose our two names to be appended to the performance.

"I put this to you, I need hardly say, before having in any way approached the subject in my own mind as to contrivance, character, story, or anything else. . . ."

Dickens was responsible for "The Overture," portions of the First and

* *Vide* "A Week's Tramp in Dickens-Land," by W. R. Hughes, F.L.S., 1891.

Fourth Acts, and the whole of Act III. During Dickens's absence in America (1867-68), Wilkie Collins transformed "No Thoroughfare" into a play for Fechter, with a view to which it had been originally planned; it was first published in 1867, and is very scarce in this form. In an unpublished letter to the late Fred Chapman (of Chapman and Hall), dated May 11th, 1873, Collins recalled (as far as he was able) the exact nature of his collaboration with Dickens, and thus wrote:—

"It is impossible for me to indicate correctly my share in the Acts jointly written (I. and IV.), —we purposely wrote so as to make discoveries of this difficult, if not impossible. I inserted passages in his chapters and he inserted passages in mine. I can only tell you that we as nearly as possible *halved* the work. We put the story together in the Swiss châlet at Gad's Hill, and we finished the Fourth Act side by side at two desks in his bedroom at Gad's Hill.

"As everything connected with *his* writing is part of the literary history of England, I may add that the Scenes and Acts of the dramatic version of this story were arranged by Dickens and Fechter, while I was engaged in completing a work of my own. The 'scenario' was then placed in my hands, and the Drama was entirely written by me."*

* The original letter is in the collection of Mr. J. F. Dexter, and is now printed for the first time.

American playwrights soon seized upon the story, and an unauthorised version, entitled "Identity; or, No Thoroughfare," by Louis Lequel, was performed at Conway's Park Theatre, Brooklyn, New York, in January, 1868.

* * * *

With the New Series of *All the Year Round*, which began on December 5th, 1868, Dickens discontinued the issue of the Christmas Numbers. We are assured that he never had such a demand for any of his writings as for these Christmas pieces in his popular periodical, the sale having reached before he died to nearly three hundred thousand. At the end of July, 1868, he informed Mr. Wills by letter of his difficulties in fixing upon a good idea for the ensuing Christmas Number, and how reluctant he was to abandon it altogether. "I cannot quite make up my mind," he said, "to give in without another fight for it. I offered one hundred pounds reward at Gad's to anybody who could suggest a notion to satisfy me." Nothing of importance came of it, however, and when announcing, on the completion of the twentieth volume (November 28th, 1868), his intention of discontinuing this favourite feature of his journal, the Novelist wrote: "The Extra

Christmas Number has now been so extensively, and regularly, and often imitated, that it is in danger of becoming tiresome. I have therefore resolved (though I cannot add, willingly) to abolish it at the highest tide of success." This decision was not at all well received by the Press, which emphatically declared that, to the majority of readers, the absence of the Christmas Number would be a national disappointment. "No Thoroughfare" was actually the last so far as the Novelist was concerned; but these annual issues were resumed in 1871, under the editorship of the late Charles Dickens the younger, who introduced a new feature in the form of an Extra Summer Number in 1877 and 1878.

The Christmas Numbers of *Household Words* (1851-58) were re-issued in volume form by Ward, Lock, and Tyler (1870), while those of *All the Year Round* (1859-67) were similarly published by Chapman and Hall, and at the office of the journal.

The various chapters written by Dickens for the Christmas Numbers have been issued independently of those contributed by other writers, first in the "Charles Dickens" edition (1871) of his works. A selection from his earlier Christmas

Stories was included in "Reprinted Pieces," published by Chapman and Hall, 1858, and in 1898 the same firm issued the Christmas Numbers in their entirety, with illustrations by A. Jules Goodman.

INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS WITH WHICH DICKENS WAS ASSOCIATED AS EDITOR OR CONTRIBUTOR.

"Memoirs of Joseph Grimaldi" (1838).

THE autobiography of the famous clown was edited by Dickens in 1837 for Bentley, at which time he was simultaneously engaged upon "Pickwick" and *Bentley's Miscellany*. Dickens has himself recorded that, when a child, he went to see Grimaldi at the Theatre Royal, Rochester, "in whose honour," he says, "I am informed, I clapped my hands with great precocity."

We read in the Preface that Grimaldi, after retiring from the stage in 1826, devoted his leisure to the composition of his Memoirs, and that he expired five months subsequent to their completion. He had handed his manuscript for revision to Mr. Thomas Egerton Wilks,

who pruned it of its redundancies (for "Joe" had been exceedingly diffuse), added some matter which he had gleaned in conversations with its writer, and otherwise rendered it suitable for printing. With the consent of Grimaldi's executor, Wilks disposed of the manuscript to Bentley, by whom Dickens was employed to edit it. The preparation of this manuscript, of which there was an immense quantity, involved much wearisome labour. Dickens, undeterred by the formidable task, did everything that was possible to enrich the material; for example, he was greatly struck by several dramatic incidents in the narrative, and, thinking that they might be related in a more attractive manner, he actually re-wrote these passages, besides further varying the form of the work throughout, "and making such other alterations as he conceived would improve the narration of the facts, without any departure from the facts themselves." Bentley afterwards acknowledged that whatever is good in these "Memoirs" was the result of such corrections and alterations, although it was impossible to convert the material into a book upon which Dickens himself could look with pleasure or satisfaction. It must not be understood that the

Novelist, pen in hand, sat at his desk and effected these emendations with his own hand, for we are assured by Forster that, "except the Preface" [or "Introductory Chapter"] "he did not write a line of this biography, such modifications and additions as he made having been dictated by him to his father; whom I found often in the supreme enjoyment of the office of amanuensis."* That the Novelist could imbue the "dry bones" of his subject with his own peculiar view of humour is evidenced in the amusing anecdote of "Mr. Mackintosh's Covey," which he narrated in his inimitable style.

Dickens was busily engaged upon the "Memoirs" during the latter part of 1837, and he completed the actual editing on January 5th, 1838. "Grimaldi speeds but twaddles," he observed to Forster, in an undated and unpublished letter; indeed, his own modest estimate of the book was briefly summarised in that very expressive word "twaddle." Great, therefore, was his surprise when, in the first week of its publication, it enjoyed a ready sale. "Seventeen hundred

* Forster is not quite accurate here, as Dickens was also responsible for the concluding chapter, which refers to the death of Grimaldi and other personal details.

Grimaldi's have been already sold," he wrote, his astonishment breaking out in thirty notes of exclamation, "and the demand increases daily!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!"

It seems that the critics soon discovered faults in the book. When it was suggested, as a salient objection to the handling by Dickens of such a subject, that he could never have seen Grimaldi, he was impelled to reply, and had even prepared a sarcastically-humorous letter for *Bentley's Miscellany*, as "from editor to sub-editor," which it was thought desirable to suppress. In the opening remark, which Forster has printed in the "Life," the Novelist points out, to "a gentleman unknown," who was credited with originating the calumny, that in "the dark ages of 1819 and 1820" he had beheld the great clown, and again saw him act "in the remote times of 1823," although he was willing to concede that he "had not arrived at man's estate when Grimaldi left the stage," and therefore the writer's recollections of his acting were shadowy and imperfect. The explanatory fragment thus concludes: "But the deduction of this pleasant gentleman that therefore the Grimaldi book must be bad, I must take leave to doubt. I

don't think that to edit a man's biography from his own notes it is essential you should have known him, and I don't believe that Lord Braybrooke had more than the very slightest acquaintance with Mr. Pepys, whose memoirs he edited two centuries after he died."

The book was published (in two volumes, post octavo) by Richard Bentley, 1838, with the following title: "Memoirs of Joseph Grimaldi. Edited by 'Boz.' With Illustrations by George Cruikshank." *Collation:* Vol. I., pp. xix., one unnumbered page ("Embellishments"), and pp. 288, with a portrait of Grimaldi engraved on steel by W. Greatbatch after a painting by S. Raven, and six etchings; Vol. II., pp. [ix.] 263, with six etchings. The Preface (pp. xi.-xix.) is dated "Doughty Street, February, 1838."

The first issue was in pink cloth. Another, with the same title-page, appeared in a binding of very dark cloth, where the final plate, entitled "The Last Song," has a crudely-executed border composed of pantomimic characters, which, however, was soon removed. In 1886 Mr. George Bentley stated that the only copies found with the border are those issued in Mr. Tegg's binding, and he concluded (from Dickens's query to the

Fleet Street publisher, "What about that border round 'The Last Song'?") that the Novelist considered that Mr. Tegg had added the border.*

The value of those copies containing the bordered plate exceeds that of other impressions, probably because of their comparative scarcity. Copies of either issue realise prices ranging from £6 to £10, according to condition.

The book has been several times reprinted. An important edition is that published by Bentley in 1846, "with Notes and Additions, revised by Charles Whitehead," and reprinted by G. Routledge and Co. in 1853. A writer in *Notes and Queries* (September 11th, 1886) remarks that the fact that Dickens took little or no pains to verify the various statements made in Grimaldi's MSS. is clearly demonstrated by the requisite appearance in this edition of Whitehead's Notes, "data which long ere this should have been deftly incorporated with the text proper." Mr. J. F. Dexter, in his "Hints to Collectors," refers to these Notes as "supposed to have been written by Charles Whitehead, but in reality supplied by J. H. Burn"; he further describes this edition as two

* *Notes and Queries*, September 11th, 1886.

volumes, 12mo, bound up in one in red cloth, with only ten of the original etchings by Cruikshank, and a coloured frontispiece—the latter being a full-length portrait (engraved in aquatint by J. Harris, from a drawing by S. de Wilde) of Joe Grimaldi as Clown in the Pantomime of "Mother Goose." This is the only edition in which the tinted portrait appears, and it seems strange that two of the Cruikshank etchings should have been withdrawn. It is usually priced at about £3. A Cheap ("Author's") Edition, with Raven's portrait and the twelve etchings by Cruikshank, was issued by George Routledge and Sons in 1884.

"THE PIC NIC PAPERS" (1841).

Owing to the non-acceptance of his unacted farce, called "The Lamplighter," by the theatrical management for whom it was prepared, Dickens converted the little play into a humorous narrative entitled "The Lamplighter's Story," which, a few years later, the Novelist included among other literary productions—including tales, essays, and poems—gratuitously written by various authors in aid of the widow and children of his first publisher, Macrone, who died in great

poverty. This collection, with "The Lamplighter's Story" occupying the leading position, was issued under the general title of "The Pic Nic Papers," the sale of which (although, perhaps, not very large) enabled the Novelist to place something like £300 in the hands of the grateful recipient. Although extremely busy with "Master Humphrey's Clock," Dickens found time not only to write a Preface, but to edit the entire contents of the work, and it may truly be said that if he had enjoyed the most liberal treatment at Macrone's hands he could not have exerted himself more generously in aid of this charitable undertaking.

In a letter to Edmund Yates (dated March 29th, 1859), having reference to "The Pic Nic Papers," Dickens explained that the publisher, Colburn, requiring an additional volume for trade purposes, supplemented the two volumes comprising the voluntary papers by a third, consisting of an American reprint. "Of that volume I didn't know and don't know anything," the Novelist emphatically observed, which effectually disposes of a libellous statement in Dr. Mackenzie's "Life of Dickens" (1870), where he is accused of having helped himself, when matter ran short, out of "Charcoal

Sketches," by J. C. Neal, of Philadelphia, without so much as acknowledging the source of his material!

The full title of the book reads thus: "The Pic Nic Papers. By Various Hands. Edited by Charles Dickens. With illustrations by George Cruikshank, Phiz, etc." It was published in three volumes (post octavo, green cloth) by Henry Colburn in 1841. The first two illustrations are etchings by Cruikshank, which are followed by six others bearing the familiar signature of "Phiz"; the six plates in the third volume are the work of R. J. Hamerton. "The Lamplighter's Story" occupies pp. 1-32. *Collation:* Vol. I., pp. vi., one unnumbered page, and pp. 323 (four illustrations); Vol. II., one unnumbered page and pp. 298 (four illustrations); Vol. III., pp. 378 (six illustrations). The price of a clean and uncut copy is about £5. There are several editions of the book in one volume, copies of which are valued at 10*s.*

"Evenings of a Working Man" (1844).

Some three years later Dickens performed a kind and graceful act in generously aiding a poor carpenter named John Overs, who was dying of consump-

tion. During his leisure moments Overs had composed several poems and verses, hoping by their publication to leave some small provision for his wife and children. The Novelist's friend Dr. Elliotson, who had shown extraordinary kindness to the unfortunate man,* informed the Novelist that Overs could not return to his old work, and his sympathetic allusions to the sufferer induced Dickens to take a particular interest in the sad case. Overs had already applied to him for help to get his literary productions into notice, in response to which the Novelist endeavoured to prevent him from incurring the perils of authorship. However, after a personal interview, Overs wrote Dickens a manly, straightforward, but modest letter, explaining "how limited his ambition was, soaring no higher than the establishment of his wife in some light business, and the better education of his children." Dickens was therefore induced to assist him, and used his influence in causing several of the

* Dickens wrote to Macready: "What a good fellow Elliotson is. He kept him [Overs] in his room a whole hour, and has gone into his case as if he were Prince Albert; laying down all manner of elaborate projects. . . ." (*Vide* "Letters of Charles Dickens," Vol. I., 49).

verses to be inserted in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine.*

When, at last, Overs became too ill for his ordinary occupation, Dickens further aided him in his literary labours by putting a few books in his way, giving him an occasional word of advice, and reading his compositions with him whenever an opportunity presented itself. Eventually the project of issuing some of these stories in volume form was entertained, and the Novelist promised to write an Introduction, which he did, in addition to editing the stories themselves. These papers were considered by Dickens to "possess some points of real interest," and he stated that, when preparing them for publication, he "never altered them, otherwise than by recommending condensation now and then," nor had he made any emendation in the proofs beyond the ordinary corrections for the press, "desiring them to be his" [Overs'] "genuine work, as they have been his sober and rational amusement."

The "Evenings of a Working Man," so much strengthened by the Preface, was eventually published by Newby, who apparently had offered a certain sum for the work, thereby taking upon himself all possible risk of pecuniary loss. The

volume, appropriately dedicated to Dr. Elliotson, was fairly successful, however; but the sick man did not long survive to enjoy his good-fortune, his malady terminating fatally in a few months. When at the point of death he suddenly demanded writing materials, and made up a small parcel (which it was his last conscious act to direct) for him who had acted so generously on his behalf. This was found to contain a copy of his little book, in which he had inscribed the Novelist's name, supplemented by the words, "With his devotion," the unassuming and affecting character of this incident affecting Dickens considerably.

Mr. J. Hain Friswell, who referred to the Preface as "a sweet bit of simple narrative, charming us with its truth," wrote: "John Overs is now no more. His book, slight and sketchy, is forgotten; but the help given to a lowly fellow-labourer in the field of literature should be remembered along with the benevolence of Johnson and the true Christian charity of Goldsmith."

This collection of stories assumed the form of a duodecimo volume, in brown cloth binding with gilt edges, having the following title: "Evenings of a Working Man, being the Occupation of his Scanty

Leisure. By John Overs. With a Preface relative to the Author, by Charles Dickens." It was published in 1844 by T. C. Newby, 72, Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square. *Collation:* pp. xiii., one unnumbered page, and pp. 205. The Preface, dated "London, June, 1844," occupies eight and a-half pages. The Dedication was written by Dickens, who, probably, was also responsible for the title. Only one edition was issued, copies now being valued at from £1 to £1 10*s.* A few impressions were uncut, and these realise about £3 each.

"Legends and Lyrics" (1866).

In *Household Words* Dickens had been giving to the world "the pure and pathetic verse" of a writer who adopted the *nom de guerre* of "Mary Berwick," but whose real patronymic had not then been revealed to the Novelist. Both Dickens and his editorial colleague, W. H. Wills, were much puzzled by the anonymity of the poet, whose proffered contributions to the weekly journal they recognised as very different from the shoal of rhymes perpetually pouring in upon them. The identity of the writer, however, was disclosed in a curious and unexpected

manner, for it happened that, accepting an invitation to dine with his friends the Procters at Christmas time in 1854, Dickens found himself *vis-à-vis* with the daughter of his host, Miss Adelaide Anne Procter, to whom he spoke (as of a subject with which she would be sure to sympathise) of Miss Berwick's work, and of the especial interest he had in her. Miss Procter, unable any longer to keep up the innocent deception, declared herself to be the actual Miss Berwick, much to the astonishment and delight of the Novelist. "You have given me a new sensation," he afterwards wrote to her. "I did not suppose that anything in this singular world would surprise me, but you have done it."

Several years later, Miss Procter prepared for press a new edition (with additions) of her collected verses, and Dickens furnished an Introduction, containing some interesting biographical details respecting the clever daughter of his dear friend "Barry Cornwall." Unhappily, Miss Procter did not live to see the publication of her little volume. When forwarding the MS. of the Introduction (after it had been "set up") to Mrs. Procter on October 29th, 1865, Dickens wrote: "The printers have cut it across and

mended it again, because I always expect them to be quick, and so they distribute my 'copy' among several hands, and apparently not very clean ones in this instance."

The full title of the new edition reads thus: "Legends and Lyrics, by Adelaide Anne Procter. With an Introduction by Charles Dickens." It was issued (quarto) by Bell and Daldy in 1866, and contained a portrait of Miss Procter engraved on steel, and illustrations by W. C. T. Dobson, A.R.A., and other artists. *Collation:* pp. [xvi.] 330. The Introduction, which occupies eleven pages, is now prefixed to every issue of these popular poems. The present value of the 1866 edition is from £1 10*s.* to £2, for it is not easily obtainable.

"Religious Opinions of the late Rev. Chauncy Hare Townshend" (1869).

The Rev. Chauncy Hare Townshend, a tall, shy man, with something of the Quixote in his face, was one of the quiet "worshippers" of Charles Dickens. He had been a clergyman, whose later views on the subject of religion could hardly be considered strictly orthodox. He was

an old friend of the Novelist, and in 1859 dedicated to him a book of verse, entitled "The Three Gates," of which he was the author. Mr. Townshend died during Dickens's absence in the United States. In his will he appointed Dickens his literary executor, leaving him a legacy of £1,000, partly, no doubt, to compensate him for the labour involved in arranging and reducing to book form an accumulation of his manuscript notes, consisting for the most part of innumerable jottings on scattered bits of paper. Dickens accepted this strange trust, amused at the grotesqueness of the office thus thrust upon him. Speaking of these papers, he wrote to Mr. William Farrer (one of the partners of Mr. Frederic Ouvry, his solicitor):—

"Those that I have, in which Mr. Townshend's religious opinions are recorded, are of so desultory and incomplete a kind that it becomes an extraordinarily difficult task to pick out the materials for an intelligible volume from the whole mass. If there be no more of such papers still in reserve, the volume must be got together, however disheartening the process; and I have the materials indexed and abstracted with that view. I presume that the cost of its printing and publication will be paid by the estate? No bookseller would entertain the notion of buying it, or taking the risk of it, I am certain. And I doubt whether a score of copies will ever

get into public circulation ; extra sixteen copies demanded by the privileged public libraries."

Dickens told Mr. Percy Fitzgerald he could do no more than put this complicated material in proper order, and fit it for the press, and this he did in his own conscientious fashion—a task which occupied his rare moments of leisure during the summer of 1868. In the following year the book was published in one volume, crown octavo, green cloth (pp. [viii.] 293), by Chapman and Hall. Besides editing the work, Dickens contributed a two-page Preface, but for which it probably would have speedily died a natural death. The volume, however, realises about £1, being valued merely as a Dickens item. It may be added that the Novelist presented to Mr. Townshend the original manuscript of "Great Expectations," which, according to the terms of the reverend gentleman's will, now finds a resting-place in the museum at Wisbech, Cambs.

PLAYS.

"MISNAR, THE SULTAN OF INDIA," AND "O'THELLO."

IN a letter to Mrs. William Howitt, dated September 7th, 1859, Dickens said: "Do you care to know that I was a great writer at eight years old or so—was an actor and a speaker from a baby?" His biographer assures us that as a mere child the future Novelist became famous in his own juvenile circle for having composed a play; and Dickens himself, referring in after years to his precocious histrionic ability, remarked: "My first attempts at authorship were certain tragedies achieved at the mature age of eight or ten, and represented to overflowing nurseries."

Dickens's earliest essay in dramatic authorship was probably that which he entitled "Misnar, the Sultan of India," founded, no doubt, on one of the "Tales

of the Genii"—a book that formed part of the small but precious library in the boy's room at Chatham. A second youthful achievement, written in 1833, was entitled "O'Thello" (part of the Great Unpaid)—a travesty of Shakespeare's play of "Othello." The original MS. of this crude performance was preserved by Mr. John Dickens, who gave it away piecemeal to his friends as a *souvenir* of his famous son,* having first inscribed upon each leaf some particulars concerning the play, such as the following :—

"This page is from an unpublished Travesty written by Mr. Charles Dickens, for private performance in his own family (1833), and in his own handwriting.

"The 'Great Unpaid' was,

"Your humble servant,

"JOHN DICKENS.

"ALPHINGTON, 6 *June*, 1842."

One of the earliest *printed* playbills in which Dickens's name is included in the cast is dated April 27th, 1833, the occasion being private theatricals in

* One of these fragments realised £35 at the Wright Sale (Sotheby's, 1899). In "Mrs. Joseph Porter over the Way" ("Sketches by Boz") there is an amusing account of an amateur performance of "Othello," which may possibly be a reminiscence of his own little drama.

a hired hall, when he, with some relatives and friends, sustained various parts. The most important item in the triple bill was an opera called "Clari," which was followed by "the favourite interlude of 'The Married Bachelor,'" and "The Farce of Amateurs and Actors." Perhaps Dickens was also responsible for a portion, at least, of the text of the minor compositions.

"THE STRANGE GENTLEMAN" (1836).

Although, from this time, Literature claimed the principal share of Dickens's attention, it did not entirely monopolise it. The stage ever possessed attractions for him; and as soon as he terminated his connection with the Reporters' Gallery—that is, at the close of the Session of 1836—he was induced to take considerable interest in the then newly built St. James's Theatre, which was under the management of John Braham, the famous English tenor. He even essayed to write ("as a practical joke," the Author afterwards explained) a small farce, in aid of Braham's enterprise, called "The Strange Gentleman," adapting it from "The Great Winglebury Duel" (one of the "Sketches by Boz"), the "comic burletta" having no special feature distinguishing it from

the original tale, unless it be the effective bustle of the opening. The initial performance took place on September 29th, 1836, on the first night of the season, J. P. Harley (Braham's stage-manager, for whom the farce was expressly written) assuming the title-rôle, thus giving some vitality to a play which really possessed no great merit. Dickens was a constant visitor at the theatre during its representation; indeed, it is said that he once took a part in it, and that his *début* on the public stage was not very satisfactory. "The Strange Gentleman" met with a fair measure of success, running sixty nights, and the Author himself was delighted with the performances, declaring Harley's impersonation to be the best thing he ever did, although he confessed to Macready that he did not hold the burlesque itself in any estimation.

The whimsical little play consists of the mistakes made at an inn on the North road, where the various personages, arriving with separate objects, are led into a series of misconceptions as to each other's identity and purposes. The incidents which arise are ingeniously contrived, and produce exceedingly grotesque situations, Harley's droll acting of the Strange Gentleman exciting a continual roar of

laughter. It may be mentioned that among the ladies in the cast were the Misses Smith, nieces of the famous Kitty Stephens, afterwards Countess of Essex, and Madame Sala, the mother of G. A. Sala, who made a favourable *début* on this occasion.

The full title of the play, which was not published until the following year,* runs thus :—

"THE STRANGE GENTLEMAN; a comic Burletta, in Two Acts. By 'Boz.' First performed at the St. James's Theatre, on Thursday, September 29th, 1836. London: Chapman and Hall, 186, Strand. MDCCCXXXVII."

It appeared in a lavender-coloured wrapper, and with a frontispiece by "Phiz." *Collation:* One unnumbered page, and pp. 46. Mr. J. F. Dexter believes that some copies of the first edition must have been issued without a frontispiece, as it is the exception to find an impression containing it. It was reprinted some years later, *minus* the frontispiece, but Mr. F. W. Pailthorpe etched one for it after publication. This reprint is an excellent imitation of the

* A printed copy of the play was in circulation at the theatre when first performed in 1836.

original, from which it can hardly be distinguished. An unauthorised reproduction has also been circulated, and, as it bears no indication that it is merely a reprint, collectors should be wary of purchasing it as an original impression.

Being, perhaps, the rarest of Dickens's writings, it is not surprising that a much-enhanced value attaches to a genuine first edition of "The Strange Gentleman," a copy of which very few Dickens collectors possess. Its present price is from £15 to £20 with the frontispiece, and from £8 to £10 without it. An extraordinary sum was realised at Sotheby's in August, 1892, for a copy (in the original wrapper) of this play, which was disposed of for £45. At the sale of the Wright Collection in 1899 a copy of the first edition, containing the original drawing by "Phiz" for the frontispiece, was purchased for £84. Copies of the original playbills, not easily obtainable, are valued at a guinea apiece.

"The Village Coquettes" (1836).

In 1835 Dickens became acquainted with a musical composer of the same age as himself, who afterwards became known

as Government inspector of musical instruction in elementary schools. This was John Hullah, who, a year or two prior to their first meeting, had set to music some portion of an opera called "The Gondolier," and, being captivated by the title, it occurred to him that he and Dickens might combine their forces. "Boz" entered into the scheme at once, but preferred making the drama an English one. "I have a little story by me," he wrote to Hullah, "which I have not yet published, which I think would dramatize well. If you approve of my idea, it is done in a twinkling; if not, I will work out your original notion; but I will frankly confess that, while I am at home in England, I am in Venice abroad indeed." The title of "The Gondolier" was abandoned, and a novel subject having presented itself to Dickens, it was, after many consultations, put forward as "The Village Coquettes," of which certain songs, duets, and concerted pieces soon formed constituent parts. This "comic opera" was offered to, and accepted by, the lessee of the St. James's Theatre, Mr. Braham, who highly appreciated it, and expressed an earnest desire to be the first to introduce its Author to the public as a dramatic writer.

Harley wrote, after reading the opera: "It's a sure card—*nothing wrong there.* Bet you ten pound it runs fifty nights. Come; don't be afraid. You'll be the gainer by it, and you mustn't mind betting; *it's a capital custom.*" *

"The Village Coquettes" was played for the first time on December 6th, 1836, with Braham himself in the cast.† In his Preface to the published play Dickens, in an apologetic vein, remarked that "the *libretto* of an opera must be, to a certain extent, a mere vehicle for the music; and that it is scarcely fair or reasonable to judge it by those strict rules of criticism which would be justly applicable to a five-act tragedy, or a finished comedy."

"The Village Coquettes" was dedicated to J. P. Harley, who took part in the performance. In this play John Parry, junior, made his *début* on the London stage, afterwards becoming eminent as a skilled vocalist and harpist.

* The phrases italicised are playful adoptions of two favourite expressions of Martin Stokes, the character which Harley assumed in "The Village Coquettes."

† "Life of John Hullah." By his Wife (1886). Although "The Strange Gentleman" was the first to be performed, it is evident that the writing of "The Village Coquettes" had previously engaged Dickens's attention.

The Dedication assumed the form of a letter addressed to Harley, thus :—

"My dear Sir,—My dramatic bantlings are no sooner born, than you father them. You have made my 'Strange Gentleman' exclusively your own; you have adopted Martin Stokes with equal readiness; and you still profess your willingness to do the same kind office for all future scions of the same stock.

"I dedicate to you, the first play I ever published; and you made for me, the first play I ever produced :—the balance is in your favour, and I am afraid it will remain so.

"That you may long contribute to the amusement of the public, and long be spared to shed a lustre, by the honour and integrity of your private life, on the profession which for many years you have done so much to uphold, is the sincere and earnest wish of, my dear Sir,

"Yours most faithfully,

"Charles Dickens.

"*December* 15*th*, 1836."

The operetta was represented in London nineteen times during the season, and afterwards in Edinburgh, under the management of Mr. Ramsay, a friend of Sir Walter Scott. Its merits, however, were based upon the songs set to Hullah's music rather than upon the play itself. Harley, whose reputation is said to have been established on this occasion, highly commended these songs.

The play has been described as a

compound of General Burgoyne's "Lord of the Manor" and Douglas Jerrold's "Rent Day," being also reminiscent of "Love in a Village" and Colman's "John Bull." Sala witnessed the initial representation, and, although but a boy of ten years old at the time, retained a vivid impression of the event, perhaps because, on going behind the scenes with his mother, he set eyes for the first time upon the great Master of Fiction who eventually did so much to shape the destiny of the eminent journalist. The play was similarly memorable to Forster, for a copy of it was sent to him, and was thus the means of bringing him into personal communication with Dickens, although, curiously enough, he has recorded nothing of interest respecting the operetta itself.

According to an announcement that appeared in the playbill on December 7th and following nights, "this Burletta experienced one of the most triumphant receptions ever known." Although much praised by prominent musical journals, a few critics spoke disparagingly of "The Village Coquettes," which gave rise to the following letter (December 11th, 1836) from Dickens to John Hullah:—

"Have you seen *The Examiner*? It is rather

depreciatory of the opera; but, like all inveterate critiques against Braham, so well done I cannot help laughing at it, for the life and soul of me. I have seen *The Sunday Times*, *The Dispatch*, and *The Satirist*, all of which blow their critic trumpets against unhappy me most lustily. Either I must have grievously awakened the ire of all the 'adapters' and their friends, or the drama must be decidedly bad. I haven't made up my mind yet which of the two is the fact."

The Author, however, was not at all depressed by the unfavourable comments passed upon his *libretto*. Indeed, as time progressed he began to realise that there was some truth in them, and when, in 1843, it was proposed to revive "The Village Coquettes," he vigorously objected. "Pray tell that besotted —— to let the opera sink into its native obscurity," he remarked to R. H. Horne. "I did it in a fit of damnable good nature long ago, for Hullah, who wrote some very pretty music to it. I just put down for everybody what everybody at the St. James's Theatre wanted to say and do, and that they could say and do best, and I have been most sincerely repentant ever since." He further averred that both the operetta and the farce of "The Strange Gentleman" were done "without the least consideration or regard to reputation,"

and added that he "wouldn't repeat them for a thousand pounds apiece." Dickens devoutly wished these "dramatic bantlings" to be forgotten, and about a year before his death, when asked by Mr. Frederick Locker whether he possessed a copy of "The Village Coquettes," his reply was, "No; and if I knew it was in my house, and if I could not get rid of it in any other way, I would burn the wing of the house where it was!"

The operetta, although subsequently acted, was published before "The Strange Gentleman." The title-page reads as follows:—

"THE VILLAGE COQUETTES: A Comic Opera. In Two Acts. By Charles Dickens. The Music by John Hullah. London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1836."

It contained seventy-one pages of text (demy octavo), and a Dedication to J. P. Harley. The opera was also printed and published in 1837 by Bradbury and Evans, and sold for 1*od.* in the theatre, while the management of the theatre sold pamphlets containing the musical portion of the play. The words of the opera were reprinted in *facsimile* by R. Bentley in 1878, the title of which bears on the reverse the statement that it is a reprint;

a frontispiece for this was etched by F. W. Pailthorpe a year later, and it was issued independently. Other title-pages have been printed, *not* by Mr. Bentley, in which is omitted the notification as to "reprint," so that collectors should be cautious. A copy of the rare first edition in sheets was recently purchased at auction for nine guineas, but such an impression sometimes realises £10 or £12. A particularly fine copy was sold at Sotheby's in 1889 for £25. Six or seven years ago a mass of waste-paper from a printer's warehouse was returned to the mills to be pulped, and would certainly have been destroyed had not one of the workmen employed upon the premises caught sight of the name "Charles Dickens" upon some of the sheets. The whole parcel was carefully examined, and the searchers were rewarded by the discovery of nearly a hundred copies of "The Village Coquettes" in quires, clean and unfolded. These were passed into the market, and the price at once fell to something like £5. The genuine *facsimile* reprint by Bentley may be obtained for 5*s.* or 6*s.*

Not many days after the performance of the opera in Edinburgh the theatre was destroyed by fire, together with the

score and separate parts; a few copies of these were recovered, but the concerted music perished utterly.

"Is She His Wife? or, Something Singular!" (1837).

While Forster makes but bare reference to "The Strange Gentleman" and "The Village Coquettes," he seems to have been entirely ignorant of the existence of a third play by Charles Dickens, entitled "Is She His Wife? or, Something Singular!" This comic burletta first saw the light at the St. James's Theatre on March 6th, 1837, with J. P. Harley in the principal *rôle*. This piece was a farce, pure and simple, the cast of which included only six characters, and *à propos* of which Sala had a distinct recollection of his mother having impersonated the part of Mrs. Peter Limbury, although he could not recall that the burletta was the production of Charles Dickens. A printed copy of the farce which found its way into the extensive collection of Dickensiana formed by the late Mr. W. R. Hughes, of Birmingham, contains this note in Sala's autograph: "In the playbill of the St. James's Theatre for the 6th March, 1837, no author's name

is announced, as that of the play 'Is She His Wife?'; but the piece was again performed, on the 13th March, on the occasion of Mr. Harley's benefit, and it was then announced on the bill of the day that 'Is She His Wife?' was by 'Boz.'" Another MS. note informs us that "Miss Allison, or Alison, subsequently became the celebrated actress Mrs. Seymour, and was afterwards married (or morganatically so) to Charles Reade." Mr. Richard Herne Shepherd, in an interesting article contributed by him in 1880 to a now-defunct journal, *The Pen*, thus wrote concerning "Is She His Wife?": "The existence of such a piece first became vaguely known to or vaguely suspected by me from a loose mention of it in the *Era Almanack* of 1868-69, or thereabouts, at the time I was preparing for the press a collection of Dickens's Speeches, in the Introduction to which I reproduced without addition or comment the same lax statement, which, however, has since proved to be perfectly accurate." Mr. Shepherd opportunely discovered some of the original playbills, which definitely decided the question of authorship.

It is highly probable that a copy of the original issue of "Is She His Wife?" is not extant in this country. That such a

copy existed about 1876 is proved by the fact that Mr. Osgood, the well-known publisher of Boston, U.S., obtained one from an English collector, who had purchased it from the stock of T. H. Lacy, the theatrical bookseller, for £6. It was a pamphlet, demy octavo, of some thirty pages, without wrapper, and (it is believed) published in England at the time the play was acted. From this, the only known copy of the little farce, Mr. Osgood produced a reprint, bearing the title: "Is She His Wife? or, Something Singular! A Comic Burletta in One Act. By Charles Dickens. Boston: James R. Osgood and Co. 1877." It was published at *2s.*

This reprint (a 12mo volume of eighty pages) is apparently the earliest form in which the play is to be found in type, for the original copy was consumed in the fire which destroyed the business premises of Messrs. Osgood in December, 1879. Should, therefore, a copy of the first issue unexpectedly come to light, it would create a sensation amongst bibliophiles. The American reprint is valued at from *15s.* to *20s.*, being somewhat scarce. The original playbills realise a guinea apiece, but are seldom met with; a few of them, however, were discovered

amongst a lot of rubbish during the alterations at the St. James's Theatre some years ago, and these were quickly pounced upon by collectors. The play has also been reprinted by J. R. Osgood, Boston, U.S. ("Vest-pocket" series, price 2*s.*), and as a pamphlet (pp. 22, buff wrapper), the latter having neither date nor publisher's imprint.

"The Lamplighter" (1838).

Concerning the three dramatic pieces written by Dickens for the St. James's Theatre, it may be remarked that nothing but their rarity and Dickens's name have preserved them from oblivion. The following undated letter from the Novelist to J. P. Harley refers to overtures or negotiations for a fourth play, which, apparently, was never written, not, at any rate, for Braham's theatre:—

"I have considered the terms on which I could afford just now to sell Mr. Braham the acting copyright in London of an entirely new piece for the St. James's Theatre; and I could not sit down to write one in a single act of about one hour long, under a hundred pounds. For a new piece in two acts, a hundred and fifty pounds would be the sum I should require.

"I do not know whether, with reference to arrangements that were made with any other

writers, this may or may not appear a large item. I state it merely with regard to the value of my own time and writings at this moment; and in so doing I assure you I place the remuneration below the mark rather than above it.

"As you begged me to give you my reply upon this point, perhaps you will lay it before Mr. Braham. If these terms exceed his inclination or the ability of the theatre, there is an end of the matter, and no harm done."

In the *Theatrical Observer* of November 15th, 1837, we find the following statement: "Mr. Charles Dickens, author of the 'Pickwick Papers,' has received most liberal offers from Mr. Macready to write for Covent Garden, but we are informed that they have been declined. . . . It is confidently said that £500 down, together with contingent advantages, were promised by the manager for a comedy in five acts." There is evidence, however, that in 1838 the Novelist had agreed to prepare a play for the famous actor-manager, as, in a letter of that date, addressed to Macready, Dickens explained that the delay in delivering the MS. of the said play, called "The Lamplighter," was caused by the demand made upon his time by "Nicholas Nickleby," which then occupied his attention, and he promised on its conclusion to apply himself to the new piece. When completed,

Dickens read aloud the "unfortunate little farce" (as he subsequently termed it) in the green-room of the theatre; "unfortunate" it decidedly was, for the actors could not agree about it, so that the play, although it went through rehearsal, was never really presented before an audience. When Macready appealed to the Author to withdraw it he magnanimously consented, declaring that he had "no other feeling of disappointment connected with this matter" but that arising from this failure in an attempt to serve his friend.* Dickens decided to adapt it to another purpose by converting it into a tale called "The Lamplighter's Story," which was published in the "Pic Nic Papers," there being only slight differences between the two versions.

The MS. of the play, *not* in Dickens's handwriting, was discovered by Mr. Shepherd in the Forster Library, from which it was reprinted in the form of a pamphlet of forty-five pages (12mo, blue wrapper), with the title as follows:—

"THE LAMPLIGHTER. A Farce. By Charles Dickens (1838). Now first printed from a manuscript in the Forster Collection at the South Kensington Museum. London, 1879."

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* *Vide* "Dickens and the Stage." By T Edgar Pemberton (1888).

Only two hundred and fifty copies were issued. The present value is about £1.

"Mr. Nightingale's Diary" (1851).

As the result of some theatrical performances instituted by Dickens and Lord Lytton at Knebworth in 1850, it was proposed that a "Guild of Literature and Art" should be founded, by which it was intended that impoverished authors and artists should derive pecuniary aid and a free residence. In order, therefore, to raise funds for developing this project, Dickens and Lord Lytton, with their co-adjutors in the good cause, entered heartily into the scheme by carrying out a series of dramatic performances, both in London and the Provinces. A very successful farce, entitled "Mr. Nightingale's Diary," the joint production of Dickens and Mark Lemon, was produced in aid of this meritorious work, the first representation taking place at Devonshire House on May 27th, 1851, following the second representation of Lord Lytton's new comedy, "Not so Bad as We Seem; or, Many Sides to a Character."* It

* Forster incorrectly gives the date of the first performance of Lord Lytton's play as May 27th, the true date being May 16th.

had been Dickens's intention to prepare a humorous piece to succeed this comedy, and indeed he had completed the first scene, which, as he told Forster, had "more farcical points than you commonly find in farces"; but he could not develop the plot to his satisfaction, and so obtained absolution. Then Mark Lemon's "Mr. Nightingale's Diary" was substituted, to which, however, Dickens contributed so many jokes and so much Gampish humour that it became more closely identified with the author of "Martin Chuzzlewit" than with the genial editor of *Punch*. The cast included the names of Dudley Costello, Augustus Egg, R.A., Mark Lemon, Wilkie Collins, and Dickens himself, who impersonated no less than five different characters (including Sam Weller and Mrs. Gamp—"not the real Mrs. Gamp, but only a near relation"), besides indulging in a broadsword combat fought *à la* Crummles. This, perhaps, gave the performance the character of a "variety" entertainment, although, as a play, it proved a wonderful success.

The first edition of the play was privately printed. *Collation:* one unnumbered page, and pp. 26, with the title :—

"Mr. Nightingale's Diary: A Farce. In one Act. By [blank]. London: 1851."

This issue is practically unobtainable, the only copy known being that in the Forster Collection. There is, however, an American edition, published at 2*s.* (pp. 96, "Vest-pocket" series), which, although scarce, is more readily met with. Title :—

"MR. NIGHTINGALE'S DIARY: A Farce in one Act. By Charles Dickens. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, *late Ticknor and Fields, and Fields, Osgood, and Co.* 1877."

The price of the American edition is from 15*s.* to £1.

"NO THOROUGHFARE" (1867).

This was the title bestowed upon the Christmas Number of *All the Year Round*, 1867, which was written conjointly by Dickens and Wilkie Collins.* During Dickens's last visit to America in 1867-68, Collins prepared a stage version of "No Thoroughfare" for Charles Fechter, the actor, whose advice was obtained with respect to technical details. Dickens was responsible for the "Prologue" of the Drama, which replaces the "Overture" of the Story, written exclusively by him. The original narrative

* *Vide* pp. 172-174.

is divided into four acts, instead of five, as in the dramatic version. The play, in which the incidents are presented somewhat differently from the original tale, was produced at the Adelphi Theatre during Dickens's absence in the United States, being first performed on Boxing Night of 1867, with Fechter as Obenreizer, and Webster as Joey Ladle.

It seems that, when engaged upon this romance, the authors departed from the usual custom of English writers, inasmuch as they framed the plot and created the *charpenterie* of the work with the undisguised object of making it a stage play, after having first published it in the form of a novel. The popularity of "No Thoroughfare" at the Adelphi, and subsequently in Paris and America, was beyond all question. Dickens, however, did not at first feel assured of its success, being "reduced to the confines of despair by its length," and if he could have rehearsed it he would "have taken the best part of an hour out of it." He therefore experienced considerable delight in receiving intimations from England of its very favourable reception, both by the public and the press, thanks, for the most part, to Fechter's superb acting. Much to Dickens's annoyance, the

"pirates" were busy with the play in America within ten days of the arrival there of the Christmas Number of *All the Year Round*, and mangled versions were given everywhere, threats of injunctions notwithstanding. As a matter of fact, it was doubtful whether Dickens could have prevented this wholesale infringement of his rights, for, as he wrote to Fechter, "Why should they pay for the piece as you act it, when they have no actors, and when all they want is my name, and they can get that for nothing?"

"No Thoroughfare" was translated into French for representation at the Paris Vaudeville Theatre, when it appeared as "L'Abîme." Dickens went to the French capital for the express purpose of superintending the rehearsals, and assisting at the first performances, whence he returned highly pleased with its success in this form. The play was printed by a New York publisher, 1868 (pp. 40), with the following title:—

"No Thoroughfare. A Drama. In five Acts and a Prologue. By Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins. As first performed at the New Royal Adelphi Theatre, London, December 26th, 1867. New York: Robert M. de Witt, Publisher, No. 33, Rose Street."

In 1882 Mr. R. H. Shepherd repro-

duced it in his "Plays and Poems of Charles Dickens" (Vol. II., 69-180); but the copyright of the play being the property of Wilkie Collins, an injunction was obtained, and the book immediately suppressed, only a very few copies getting into circulation. A new edition of Mr. Shepherd's volume was issued in 1885, from which "No Thoroughfare" was omitted, its place being taken by Dickens's "Sketches of Young Gentlemen" and "Sketches of Young Couples."

The imperfect MS. of "No Thoroughfare" realised £22 at Sotheby's in June, 1890, at the sale of Wilkie Collins's Library.

"The Frozen Deep" (1856), and "The Lighthouse" (1855).

It is stated by Forster that "No Thoroughfare" was the only story Dickens ever helped himself to dramatise. He was not aware of the fact, nor have other biographers recorded, that the Novelist was responsible for much of the text of Wilkie Collins's play "The Frozen Deep," and contributed the words of a poem as a Prologue to the same writer's drama of "The Lighthouse," together with the

text of "The Song of the Wreck," to be introduced therein; also that he wrote the words to the incidental music in both of these plays. The dramatised version of "The Frozen Deep" was written in 1856,* and performed for the first time at Dickens's house on January 6th, 1857; it has never been published, and widely differs from the story as rearranged in narrative form for reading in America, and for publication in *Temple Bar* in 1874. The MS. contains many additions and corrections by Dickens. The original MS. Prompt-book (also unpublished) includes about forty pages in his autograph, besides innumerable notes and corrections by the same hand. The MSS. of "The Frozen Deep" and the prompt-book realised £300 at Sotheby's in June, 1890. A printed copy of the Play, containing stage-directions written in the margins, etc., was a much-valued item in the late Mr. W. R. Hughes's collection of Dickensiana, which will shortly be dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby. On the title-page and buff-coloured wrapper of this impression (believed to be a prompt-copy, and very rare) is the following: "The

* It was during the acting of "The Frozen Deep" that the plot of "A Tale of Two Cities" took shape in the Author's imagination.

Frozen Deep: a Drama in Three Acts. By Wilkie Collins [not published]. 1866." *Collation:* pp. 46. Placed with the pamphlet are autograph plans of the stage for the different Acts, list of costumes, etc.

Dickens himself assumed the principal parts in both "The Frozen Deep" and "The Lighthouse," absolutely electrifying his audiences by the histrionic capacity he displayed. Carlyle testified to his wonderful ability on the stage, declaring that he was "a born actor," and compared his wild picturesqueness in "The Lighthouse" to that of the famous figure in Poussin's bacchanalian dance in the National Gallery. Those who were privileged to see the extraordinary versatility and power of his impersonations will agree with the veteran banner-bearer at one of the theatres, who said, "Ah, Mr. Dickens, if it hadn't been for them books, what an actor you would have made!"

POEMS, SONGS, AND OTHER RHYMES.

IT is stated that, when a mere lad, Dickens actually composed the words of some of the songs which he then sang before appreciative audiences. Mr. John Payne Collier has recorded some interesting particulars of a dinner-party where he first met the future Novelist, then but a stripling. After the repast the precocious boy sang two songs, one of which, entitled "Sweet Betsey Ogle," was his own composition.* Of this song only a single verse is printed in the "Diary," but Mr. Collier's own copy of the book includes a transcript of the entire production, together with that of a "monopolylogue written by Dickens, like those of the elder Mathews." On the margin of the latter Mr. Collier chronicled the following fact: "V. Dowling gave me this song,

* *Vide* "An Old Man's Diary" (1871-72).

and said it was written by C. Dickens"; the subject of the "monopolylogue"—a MS. consisting of 6 pp., quarto—is the narration of the adventures and mishaps of a tailor and his friend at the Epping Hunt.

The boy's uncle, Mr. Barrow, informed Mr. Collier that the youthful Dickens had been employed by Warren, of blacking fame, and had written puff verses for him, which Mr. Collier, on hearing a specimen, declared to be very laughable and clever for such a purpose, and in some respects even "Peter Pindaric." Another very juvenile effort is to be found in Dickens's MS. play of "O'Thello" (1833), which travesty includes a humorous solo of eight lines, sung by Cassio to the air of one of Moore's melodies, "When in death I shall calm recline."

Dickens's little opera, "The Village Coquettes" (1836), includes several rhymes of his own composition, written professedly for John Hullah's music. They are characterised by considerable feeling and graceful sentiment, some of them becoming deservedly popular, chiefly perhaps on account of the bright and pleasant music to which the words are wedded. Harley, who assumed the principal *rôle*, greatly admired the songs,

declaring that they had a good deal of Sheridan's sprightliness combined with the tenderness of Moore's lyrics. The management of the St. James's Theatre, where this "Comic Opera" was produced, had on sale the musical portion of the play (in pamphlet form, 12mo, 16 pp., price 10*d.*), which bore the following title:—

"Songs, Choruses, and Concerted Pieces, in the Operatic Burletta of The Village Coquettes, as produced at the St. James's Theatre. The Drama and Words of the Songs by 'Boz.' The Music by John Hullah. The Music is published by Messrs. Cramer and Co., 201, Regent Street. Printed by Bradbury and Evans, Whitefriars. 1837."

Several editions of these songs have been published, but only two copies of the first edition are known to exist.

When Harley's benefit took place, during the performance of "Is She His Wife?" (1837), the event was marked by a little extra diversion in the shape of a song introduced into this play, "edited" expressly for him by Dickens. He sang it in the character of Mr. Pickwick, probably because of the general popularity of the gaitered beau, and related, to a Scotch air, his experiences of "A White Bait

Dinner at Blackwall." What has become of the song? When the St. James's Theatre was altered a few years ago by Messrs. Hare and Kendal, a pile of acting copies of dramas, etc., was sold as waste-paper, and amongst these were four out of the six parts of "Is She His Wife?" written by the theatrical copyist, in which the names of the performers and the parts they were to assume were in the autograph of Dickens; but Harley's part was not to be found.

In the sixth chapter of "The Pickwick Papers" we find that famous ballad of three verses entitled "The Ivy Green," perhaps the most popular of all Dickens's verse. Mr. Henry Burnett (the Novelist's brother-in-law) set this song to music at Dickens's request, and sang it amongst literary men and artists scores of times, it being an especial favourite with Landor. "It was not written for 'Pickwick,'" says Mr. Burnett. "On its being so much admired he" [Dickens] "said it should go into a monthly number, and it did." The favourite setting of "The Ivy Green" is undoubtedly that by the veteran Henry Russell, who states that for the music of this, one of his most successful compositions, he received the magnificent sum of ten shillings! The ballad proved so

popular that it must have been sold in tens of thousands.

In "Pickwick" (chap. xxviii.) we also find the familiar rhyme called "A Christmas Carol," the five stanzas of which that merry old soul, Mr. Wardle, sang "in a good, round, sturdy voice." It was afterwards set to music, to the air of "Old King Cole," and published in the "Book of British Song" (New Edition—George Virtue), with an illustration drawn by Alfred Crowquill. The next chapter of "Pickwick" contains the lugubrious song of Gabriel Grub, having reference to—

> "Brave lodgings for one, brave lodgings for one,
> A few feet of cold earth when life is done,"

to which he gives melancholy utterance just before that memorable interview with the Goblin. As a set-off, there are many humorous verses in "Pickwick," notably those with which Sam Weller obliged his coaching friends prior to joining Mr. Pickwick in the Fleet. After declaring that he was "not wery much in the habit o' singin' vithout the instrument," he launched out "with a wild and beautiful legend"—the "Romance" of Dick Turpin —rendered in Sam's own vernacular. The two stanzas have been set to music by

Sir Frederick Bridge, Mus.D., organist of Westminster Abbey.

Respecting Mrs. Leo Hunter's "Ode to an Expiring Frog," also in the pages of "Pickwick," we are told in the book that this effusion appeared originally in a lady's magazine, and "created an immense sensation." Mr. Percy Fitzgerald remarks that the "Ode" always seemed to him a "very perfect piece of burlesque, not by any means overstrained—the common fault in burlesque—but having the earnestness that is certain to be found in genuine performances of the kind." The lines which embroiled Mr. Potts with the susceptible Winkle, entitled "Lines to a Brass Pott," are almost as good in this way. In December, 1886, *Punch* printed an "improved" version of Mrs. Leo Hunter's lines, which was called an "Ode to an Expiring Fog."

A doggerel rhyme, entitled "The Teetotal Excursion," belonging to this period, is described in the *London Singer's Magazine* (*circa* 1839) as "an original Comic Song, written by 'Boz,' and sung at the London Concerts." This has not been chronicled by bibliographers, nor has previous mention been made of the appearance, in a subsequent issue of the same work (*circa* 1840), of a ballad

(also attributed to "Boz") entitled "The Old Man and the Child," which is probably identical with Squire Norton's song in "The Village Coquettes."

During the Tory interregnum in 1841 Dickens contributed anonymously to *The Examiner* (then edited by Forster) three political squibs, which were intended to help the Liberals in their fight against their opponents. The first of these, consisting of eight stanzas, appeared on August 7th, with the title of "The Fine Old English Gentleman (to be said or sung at all Conservative dinners)"; the second, nine stanzas in length, published on August 14th, was called "The Quack Doctor's Proclamation," and has a "Tol de rol" chorus, to be sung to the tune of "A Cobbler there was"; while the third effusion (eleven stanzas) was printed on August 21st, headed "Subjects for Painters (after Peter Pindar)." Concerning these productions Forster remarks: "I doubt if he ever enjoyed anything more than the power of thus taking part occasionally, unknown to outsiders, in the sharp conflict the press was waging at the time." It is probable that other similar rhymes, prompted by events of the hour, were anonymously composed by the Novelist at that period, both in

the pages of *The Examiner* and elsewhere, but they lie buried beyond easy reach of discovery.

In 1841-42 Dickens took great interest in the work of a young and then unknown writer, J. Westland Marston, who had just composed his maiden play—a tragedy entitled "The Patrician's Daughter." Writing to Macready on November 12th, 1842, he said: "The more I think of Marston's play, the more sure I feel that a prologue to the purpose would help it materially, and almost decide the fate of any ticklish point on the first night. Now I have an idea (not easily explainable in writing but told in five words), that would take the prologue out of the conventional dress of prologues, quite. Get the curtain up with a dash, and begin the play with a sledge-hammer blow. If, on consideration, you should agree with me, I will write the prologue heartily." The tragedy (the first new play of the season) was produced at Drury Lane on December 10th, 1842, when the Prologue, consisting of forty-eight dignified and vigorous lines, was recited by Macready. The first edition of "The Patrician's Daughter—a Tragedy in Five Acts, by J. Westland Marston, 1841," appeared as an octavo pamphlet in wrappers, its present value

(chiefly on account of the Prologue) being from 15*s.* to 20*s.* The Prologue itself was reprinted in the *Theatrical Journal and Stranger's Guide* for December 17th, 1842, and it is given with some variations in the first volume of the "Letters," pp. 77-78, as well as in a complete form in R. H. Shepherd's "Plays and Poems of Charles Dickens" (1882).

In a letter to Forster, dated July, 1843, Dickens wrote: "I have heard, as you have, from Lady Blessington, for whose behalf I have this morning penned the lines I send you herewith. But I have only done so to excuse myself, for I have not the least idea of their suiting her; and I hope she will send them back to you for *The Examiner*." The allusion here is to "a clever and pointed Parable in verse" (so Forster designated it), entitled "A Word in Season," a thoughtful little poem of four stanzas composed for *The Keepsake* (1844), then edited by the Countess of Blessington. The poem, which begins, "They have a superstition in the East," was described by the *London Review* (November 16th, 1867) as "a graceful and sweet apologue, reminding one of the manner of Hood," and Blanchard Jerrold has referred to a British Museum reader, who (in 1870) queried

anent these lines: "May I commend them, and the thoughts which they suggest about the religious difficulty, to the Vice-President of the Committee in Council, to Bishop Wilberforce, and to Mr. Gathorne Hardy?"* The volume of *The Keepsake* containing these verses is usually catalogued at 7*s.* or 8*s.*

Occasional contributions in verse from the pen of Dickens were published in the columns of the *Daily News*, the earliest of which appeared on January 24th, 1846. This production of five stanzas (signed "Catnach") is similar in character to his political squibs in *The Examiner*, although not so dignified in tone, and is called "The British Lion—A New Song, but an Old Story," to be sung to the tune of "The Great Sea-Snake." On St. Valentine's Day of the same year the *Daily News* printed "The Hymn of the Wiltshire Labourers," signed by Dickens, which bears the impress of quite a different train of thought. These five verses were elicited by a speech by Lucy Simpkins at one of the night meetings of the wives of agricultural labourers at Brem Hill, Wilts, held to petition for

* *Vide* "A Day with Dickens (The Best of All Good Company)," by Blanchard Jerrold (1871).

Free Trade, and are prefaced by the following quotation :—

"Don't you all think that we have had a great need to cry to our God to put it in the hearts of our greaseous Queen and her members of Parlerment to grant us free bread?"

In 1855 Dickens prepared the Prologue for Wilkie Collins's powerful drama "The Lighthouse," and contributed to the same play "The Song of the Wreck." Upon the latter he evidently intended to bestow a different title : "I have written," he informed his brother-novelist, "a little ballad for Mary—'The Story of the Ship's Carpenter and the Little Boy, in the Shipwreck.'" When the piece was performed on June 19th, 1855, at Dickens's residence, Tavistock House, this song was sung by his eldest daughter, Mary (who impersonated Phœbe in the play), to the music composed by George Linley for Miss Charlotte Young's pretty ballad "Little Nell," of which Dickens was very fond, and which his daughter had been in the habit of singing to him constantly since she was quite a child. The MSS. of the Prologue (twenty-two lines) and of the Song (five verses) realised eleven guineas each at Sotheby's in June, 1890, during the sale

of Wilkie Collins's collection of autographs.

The Christmas Number of *Household Words* for 1856, entitled "The Wreck of the Golden Mary," is especially remarkable for a Child's Hymn, consisting of five verses, of which Dickens was the composer, beginning with the words, "Hear my prayer, O Heavenly Father."

So far as the novels are concerned, we may discover here and there some humorous versification, such as the parodies of popular melodies by Mrs. Jarley's poet, and the impromptu rhymes of Silas Wegg and Jenny Wren in "Our Mutual Friend." In the initial chapter of "Little Dorrit," too, there is Monsieur Rigaud's song, beginning, "Who passes by this road so late?" which has been set to music by H. R. S. Dalton, and published (*circa* 1857) by J. H. Jewell, of Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury.

Mr. R. H. Horne (the author of "Orion") is said to have been the first to point out that many of the tender passages in Dickens's prose writings are virtually blank verse, of irregular metre and rhythm, which Southey, Shelley, and some other poets have occasionally adopted. Examples of such metrical composition will be found in the

description of Little Nell's funeral, in the concluding paragraph of "Nicholas Nickleby," in the word-painting of Niagara Falls in "American Notes," and in a passage in "A Child's History of England," beginning, "The English broke and fled." Dickens always endeavoured to prevent *involuntary* versification, and desired Forster to break up the rhythm whenever he detected it in the proofs, explaining that, when unusually touched or excited by his subject, he was apt to run into blank verse.

APPENDIX.

DICKENS PLAGIARISED.

PERHAPS no work in English Literature has been so frequently seized upon by the cunning plagiarist as "The Pickwick Papers," the enormous popularity of which induced a host of enterprising publishers to issue works bearing similar titles, or having in some direct or indirect manner an ostensible connection with Dickens's admired production. A certain E. Lloyd, of Wych Street, figures prominently among the fraternity. About 1837 he issued a little work in eleven parts (making a total of ninety-two pages), with seventeen woodcut illustrations, upon which he audaciously bestowed the plagiaristic title, "Sketch Book by 'Bos,'" which pur-

ported to contain a "Great Number of Highly Interesting and Original Tales, Sketches," etc., etc. The Preface was signed "'Bos,' Brompton Square."

Lloyd also has his imprint upon three Pickwickian plagiarisms—*viz.*, "Posthumous Papers of the Cadgers' Club," with sixteen engravings (*circa* 1837); "The Posthumourous Notes of the Pickwickian Club, containing the Humourous Adventures of Christopher Pickwick, Esq., Percy Tupnall, Esq., Matthew Winkletop, Esq.," edited by "Bos," and published in two volumes (*circa* 1842), with woodcut illustrations, the work first appearing in a hundred and twelve numbers, each bearing the title of "The Penny Pickwick"; and "Pickwick in America," the latter comprising the "Adventures of that Illustrious Individual and his Learned Companions in the United States; Extraordinary Jonathanisms, collected by Mr. Snodgrass; and the Sayings, Doings, and Mems. of the facetious Sam Weller." This was edited and prefaced by "Bos," and contained forty-six illustrations, being issued in forty-four numbers, pp. 350. At about the same time Lloyd was responsible for the "Pickwickian Songster," having "all the Popular, Rum, Comic, and Sentimental Songs of the Day,"

and a woodcut illustration representing a dance by Pickwickian characters. The same publisher also announced a work entitled "Lloyd's Everlasting Entertainments; or, Pickwickian Shadows," to be issued in penny numbers, but it is doubtful whether it ever appeared.

Other back-street publishers likewise entered the fray. Contemporary with "The Pickwick Papers" appeared the "Posthumous Papers of the Wonderful Discovery Club" (W. M. Clark, Warwick Lane, 1838), which was edited by "Poz," with eleven illustrations designed by "Squib" and engraved by "Point"; "The Pickwick Comic Almanac for 1838," illustrated by Robert Cruikshank; "Pickwick Treasury of Wit," published in Dublin in 1840; "The Pickwick Songster"; "Mr. Pickwick's Collection of Songs," with woodcuts, including an engraving of Yates as Mr. Pickwick; "Sam Weller's Jest-Book" (1837), with Cruikshank's illustrations; "Sam Weller's Favourite Song-Book" (1837), with woodcuts; and "The Sam Weller Scrap Sheet," containing forty woodcut portraits of "all the Pickwick Characters, enriched with poetic effusions by A. Snodgrass, Esq., M.P.C."

In addition to this series of books and pamphlets having plagiaristic Pickwickian

titles, there is that more familiar production, "Pickwick Abroad; or, The Tour in France," by a comparatively well-known writer of that day, G. W. M. Reynolds. This ostensible "continuation" of the adventures of Mr. Pickwick and his friends across the Channel is profusely illustrated with steel plates by "Alfred Crowquill" (Forrester) and John Phillips, and woodcuts by Bonner, and was published in parts by Thomas Tegg, Cheapside, in 1839 (pp. [xvi.] 528). In his Preface the author confesses to a feeling of pride and satisfaction in the contemplation of "the successful termination of his labour in the twenty parts to which no other imitator of the 'Immortal Boz' has yet attained." The work, although of no great merit, has apparently been well received, having often been republished.

Two other plagiaristic productions are yet to be chronicled. The first is entitled "The Adventures of Marmaduke Midge, the Pickwickian Legatee," by the author of "Tyburn Tree," etc., with woodcut illustrations, published by G. Vickers, in the Strand (N.D.); the other takes the form of a contribution to the *Metropolitan Magazine*, September, 1838, under the title of "Winkle's Journal (Omitted from the Pickwick Papers)." Concerning the

latter, the editor writes: "We insert these papers as they have been transmitted to us. Our readers will decide how far Mr. Winkle's Journal is adapted to add to the amusement so extensively afforded by the publication of the Pickwick Papers." This effusion is prefaced by a letter addressed to "My dear Boz," in which the signatory, Nathaniel Winkle, offers a few anecdotes of his former life.

Literary pirates were not very busy, apparently, with "Oliver Twist," as I find but two plagiarisms recorded. "The Life and Adventures of Oliver Twiss, the Workhouse Boy," edited by "Bos," with numerous illustrations, was published in parts by the indefatigable Lloyd *circa* 1839; the other, entitled simply "Oliver Twiss," by "Poz," is very rare, and was issued in numbers, at a penny each, these bearing the imprint of several London booksellers of no repute. Under the title appears the notification, "Copyright secured by Act of Parliament," which (as Mr. Charles Dickens the younger truly remarked) is "so sublime a piece of impudence as almost to take rank as a real stroke of genius."

Dickens was so incensed by these bastard productions that, on the eve of the appearance of the first number of

"Nickleby," he issued an emphatic Proclamation, which was inserted in various reviews and magazines at the time. It commenced thus :—

"WHEREAS we are the only true and lawful Boz,' and WHEREAS it hath been reported to us, who are commencing a New Work to be called—'The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby, that some dishonest dullards, resident in the cellars and bye-streets of this town, impose upon the unwary and credulous, by producing cheap and wretched imitations of our delectable Works. And WHEREAS we derive but small comfort under this injury, from the knowledge that the dishonest dullards aforesaid, cannot, by reason of their mental smallness, follow near our heels, but are constrained to keep along by dirty and little frequented ways, at a most respectful and humble distance behind.

"And WHEREAS, in like manner, as some other vermin are not worth the killing for the sake of their carcases, so these kennel pirates are not worth the powder and shot of the law, inasmuch as whatever damages they may commit, they are in no condition to pay any.

"THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE

"*Firstly*,

"To PIRATES.

"That we have at length devised a mode of execution for them, so summary and terrible, that if any gang or gangs thereof presume to hoist but one thread of the colours of the good ship Nickleby, we will hang them on gibbets so lofty and enduring, that their remains will be a monument of our just vengeance to all

succeeding ages; and it shall not lie in any power of any Lord High Admiral on earth to cause them to be taken down again. . . ." [etc.]

Apparently this curious threat produced no effect, as the objectionable plagiarisms were as numerous as ever. For instance, E. Lloyd was again to the front with a remarkable production entitled "Nickelas Nickelbery," by "Bos," which contained "the Adventures, Mis-adventures,—Chances, Mis-chances,—Fortunes, Mis-fortunes,—Mys-teries,—Mis-eries,—and Mis-cellaneous Manœuvres of the Family of Nickelbery." It was issued in penny weekly numbers and fourpenny monthly parts, profusely illustrated, and parodied the whole of the story and characters under slightly altered names. Then, in 1840, appeared "Scenes from the Life of Nickleby Married," which was also issued in parts, with green wrappers and twenty-one etchings by "Quiz," in the style of "Phiz," but artistically much inferior. This ambitious work, comprising more than five hundred pages of text, "edited by 'Guess,'" and purporting to be a sequel to Dickens's story, contained an account of "certain remarkable passages and strange adventures that befel the Nickleby Family." "The Nickleby Papers," by "Poz," was another of these

wonderful compilations; it was issued in penny numbers, and, although said to be stupid and dull, had a ready sale. Concerning it Dr. Mackenzie, in his Life of Dickens, states that the narrative begins ten years after the close of the real story, and re-introduces Squeers, who had served out his seven years' transportation in Botany Bay, but whose morals had not been improved by the change of scene. This book seems to have had a great attraction for the lower class of Londoners.

When explaining to George Cattermole the details of his projected new work, "Master Humphrey's Clock," Dickens pointed out that a reason for issuing it in weekly parts instead of monthly was that the imitators might be baffled. These literary pirates, however, were not so easily disposed of. The threats hurled at them in the "Nickleby" Proclamation had little effect, and the pilfering of which Dickens had just cause of complaint continued until 1841, when he dropped down upon the publishers and completely crushed them, although not before they had issued a valedictory address in the fourth part of one of their objectionable productions, wherein they stated their grievances, accepted the situation, and posed in the light of "injured innocents." This par-

ticular publication was issued by the irrepressible Lloyd in 1840, and was entitled "Mister Humfries' Clock. 'Bos,' Maker. A Miscellany of Striking Interest"; it appeared in twelve parts, with woodcut illustrations. One of the most glaring instances of this form of piracy may be found in *Parley's Penny Library*, which contains selections, in the character of dialogues, from "Master Humphrey's Clock"; these were illustrated by means of crude woodcuts, some of them being enlarged copies of individual characters depicted in the original work. Notwithstanding that the publishers inserted a portrait of the Novelist, and a fulsome dedication to "the living Shakespeare," Dickens was not to be conciliated; on the contrary, he not only vigorously denounced them for this wholesale appropriation, but brought an action, in 1842, for infringement of copyright, gaining his cause with heavy damages, and thus closing the career of *Parley's Penny Library*. In the following year there appeared an entirely new publication called *The New Parley Library*, edited by Mr. E. L. Blanchard. It should, in justification, be said that the original "Peter Parley" (Samuel Griswold Goodrich, of America) had nothing whatever to do with either publication. In

1842 appeared a volume bearing the plagiaristic title of "Master Timothy's Bookcase; or, the Magic Lanthorn of the World," the author being G. W. M. Reynolds; it contains ten engravings on steel, and one of the tales introduced purposes to give an account of "Mr. Pickwick's Marriage."

Notwithstanding Dickens's legal triumph over the piratical publishers in connection with their raid upon "Master Humphrey's Clock," they considered his next work a subject for plunder; but, owing to a decisive action on the part of the Novelist, and the very strong view taken of the case by Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce, who gave judgment without even hearing Serjeant Talfourd for the prosecution, the catchpenny publications were suppressed, and their proprietors "beaten flat, bruised bloody, battered, smashed, squelched, and utterly undone." This accounts for the fact that no plagiarisms of "Martin Chuzzlewit" are recorded.

In 1847, just after the appearance of the fourth number of "Dombey and Son," a Strand bookseller started a publication entitled "Dombey and Daughter," which he described as a "moral fiction," and it was announced in the following conceited manner:—

"This work is from the pen of one of the first Periodical writers of the day; and is, in literary merit (though so low in price), in no way inferior to Mr. Dickens's admirable work, *Dombey and Son.* Those who are reading *Dombey and Son* should most assuredly order *Dombey and Daughter*; it is a production of exalted intellect, written to sustain moral example and virtuous precept, deeply to interest, and sagely to instruct. Order of any bookseller or newsvendor. One penny will test the truth of this announcement."

The author was Renton Nicholson, notorious as the "Lord Chief Baron" of the equally notorious "Judge and Jury" Club—a bacchanalian entertainment which flourished near Covent Garden for some years. "Dombey and Daughter" was completed in a volume of ninety-four pages, with twelve woodcuts, and concluded with a postscript as arrogantly offensive as the preliminary announcement.

Two other similar publications are recorded. The earlier of these was a burlesque called "Dombey and Son Finished," and it appeared in a well-known periodical of the day, *The Man in the Moon* (1848), with illustrations by Albert Smith. The second work is of American origin, and bears the title of "Dolby and Father: or, Incongruity" (New York, 1868), and purported to be by "Buz"; it comprised nearly sixty pages of text.

"THE MYSTERY OF EDWIN DROOD."

UNAUTHORISED CONTINUATIONS, ETC.

AN enterprising American writer is responsible for a sequel to "Edwin Drood," in a work called "John Jasper's Secret" (Peterson and Brothers, 1871, pp. 408), in the Preface to which the hope is expressed that a benefit as well as a pleasure is thus conveyed to the world "on setting partially at rest the multitudinous speculations to which the non-explanation of the 'Mystery' has given rise." This work, the authorship of which has been wrongly attributed to Wilkie Collins, first appeared as a serial in a weekly journal called *The Chimney Corner* (New York and London, 1871), and was afterwards published (from October, 1871, to May, 1872) by a London firm in eight monthly shilling parts with green pictorial wrappers, of

uniform size with the original story, and having woodcut illustrations, the latter being borrowed from the American work. The full title of the English edition (the sub-title is slightly different from that in the Transatlantic production) is "John Jasper's Secret; being a narrative of Certain Events following and explaining 'The Mystery of Edwin Drood'"—Publishing Offices, No. 342, Strand, 1872 (pp. 252). As a literary curiosity, it is often catalogued at nearly double the price of Dickens's unfinished novel.

A work of a similar character, and n three volumes, was launched by Remington and Co. in 1878. It was entitled "A Great Mystery Solved: being a Sequel to 'The Mystery of Edwin Drood,'" the author, Gillan Vase, stating in the Preface (dated "Hanover, July 12, 1878") that he commenced it as an amusement, and was induced to publish the book when it eventually assumed large proportions. A curious production in the form of a volume on Spiritualism, entitled "Rifts in the Veil," by W. H. Harrison (London, 1878), is described as "an alleged *post-mortem* work by Charles Dickens," and purports to contain particulars of a continuation of "Edwin Drood," which is said to have

been inspired by a medium, the article occupying thirty closely printed pages. A like production, and perhaps the most remarkable of all these unauthorised "continuations," emanates from America; it has the following diffuse, not to say "uncanny," title: "The Mystery of Edwin Drood. Part the Second by the Spirit Pen of Charles Dickens, through a Medium; embracing also that Part of the Work which was published prior to the Termination of the Author's Earth-Life." It contained two Prefaces (by the "Medium" and Author respectively, the latter signed and dated by the publisher, "Thos. P. James, Brattleboro', Vt.—September 25, 1873"), and a "Dedication to the Poor" (pp. [xvi.] 488).

The *nom de guerre* "Orpheus C. Kerr" is associated with the authorship of at least three Adaptations of "Edwin Drood." One of these appeared in the *Piccadilly Annual* (1870); a second took the form of a booklet (undated), entitled "The Mystery of Mr. E. Drood," and was issued by Messrs. Ward, Lock, and Tyler; but the third and most striking of this trio of publications is "The Cloven Foot" (New York and London, 1870), which is really an extended version of the last-mentioned

work ; here the story is madè to conform to American Scenes, Characters, Customs, and Nomenclature. An "outgrowth" of Dickens's uncompleted tale, entitled "The Welfleet Mystery," by Mrs. C. A. Read, appeared in the *Weekly Budget* during 1885, with illustrations.

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